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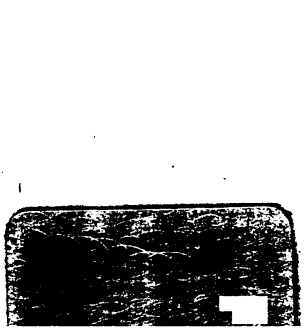

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THE

# LIFE

OF

# SIR WALTER RALEGH, KNT.

BY *ARTHUR CAYLEY, JUN. ESQ.*

——— But who can speak
The num'rous worthies of the maiden reign?
In RALEGH mark their ev'ry glory mix'd;
RALEGH! the scourge of Spain! whose breast with all
The sage, the patriot, and the hero, burn'd:
Nor sunk his vigour when a coward reign
The warrior fetter'd, and at last resign'd,
To glut the vengeance of a vanquish'd foe.
Then, active still and unrestrain'd, his mind
Explor'd the vast extent of ages past,
And with his prison-hours enrich'd the world;
Yet found no times in all the long research,
So glorious or so base as those he prov'd,
In which he conquered, and in which he bled.

THOMSON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. II.

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# CONTENTS

## OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

### CHAPTER VII.

*Cecil's second letter.... Carleton's two letters.... Brooke's recantation.... Cobham practised upon..... Sir J. Hawles' observation.... The jury repent.... Coke satirised.... Ralegh's return to prison.... His letter to the king.... He expects death.... His letter to his wife.... A prisoner in the Tower.... His effects granted to trustees..... His wife admitted to him.... His second son born.... Tower anecdotes.... The persons admitted to him.... Falsely named in the gunpowder plot.... Lady Ralegh petitions the king. Sanderson's conduct.... Ralegh brought before Cecil.... His life-interest in Sherborne granted him.... A flaw in the conveyance to his son..... Car solicits Sherborne.... Ralegh's letter to Car.... Sherborne granted to Car.... Ralegh's occupations in the Tower.... His cordial.... He is favoured by the queen and Prince Henry.... Anecdote of Cobham's examination.... A saying of Prince Henry.... Ralegh writes against the marriages with Savoy.... His letter to Prince*

*Henry.... The prince wishes to restore Sherborne to him.... Dies.... Anecdote of his last illness.... The loss he was to Ralegh.... The death of Cecil.... Ralegh obtains the liberty of the Tower.... His son Walter obliged to fly.... His History of the World published.... The king consents to his freedom. .. Ralegh's letter to Villiers.... His release.... The fate of Grey and Cobham..... 2*

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Anecdote.... Sir Walter's correspondence with Guiana.... His letter to Winwood.... He prepares for a new voyage.... Spanish politics.... Gondomar.... His practices.. . Buckingham's letter.... Ralegh is offered a pardon.... Dissuaded by Bacon.... His fleet for Guiana.... Fourth voyage thither.... His letter thence to his wife. .... The death of his son Walter.... He finds himself betrayed.... His letters to Winwood and his wife from S. Christophers.... His apology for the voyage, and address to Lord Carew.. 57*

## CHAPTER IX.

*Howell's two letters.... Sir Walter's return.... The Spanish match.... Gondomar's persecution. .... The king's proclamation.... Lord Carew's assiduity.... The king's reply.... Ralegh sur-*

*renders himself.... He feigns illness, and meditates his escape...., Overture of the French agent. .... Ralegh betrayed by Stukely.... He is recommitted to the Tower.... His letters to the king and Buckingham.... Gondomar goes to Spain.... His parting injunctions.... Ralegh examined.... The commissioners' letter to the king.... Ralegh told to prepare for death.... He is brought to the King's bench.... The proceedings against him.... He is taken to the Gatehouse.... The petitions in his favour.... The queen's letter.... His firmness.... His verses before death, and answer to some imputations.... His behaviour on the scaffold.... His last speech. .... His death.... Dr. Tounson's letter.... Ralegh's execution odious to the people.... The king's Declaration.... Letter to Cottington.....* 123

## CHAPTER X.

*Sir Walter's History of the World.... His letter to Sir R. Cotton.... Anecdote.... His miscellaneous writings.... Poetry.... Music.... His patronage of learning.... The charge of impiety.... Mr. Hume's observations upon him.... His character.... His zeal in friendship.... Conspiracy. .... Moral to be derived from his story.... His person.... His wife.... His son Walter.... His son Carew.... His instructions to his son and to posterity.....* 182

## APPENDIX.


No. I. *Hooker's dedication to Ralegh, from Holinshed*..... 237

II. *Hakluyt's dedication, from his voyages*.. 246

III. *Letters patent to Ralegh concerning Virginia*..... 253

IV. *Second voyage to Virginia*..... 260

V. *Lane's narrative of occurrences in Virginia*..... 267

VI. *Voyage to the Azores, in* 1586.. .... 293

VII. *Determinations of the council of war in* 1587, *on the invasion*..... 297

VIII. *Ralegh's deed of assignment respecting Virginia*..... 301

IX. *Abstract of Spaniards' letters, relative to Guiana*..... 307

X. *Second voyage to Guiana*, &c..... 316

XI. *Third voyage to Guiana*..... 368

XII. *Ralegh's patent for the government of Jersey*..... 382

XIII. *Carew Ralegh's brief relation of his father's troubles*..... 386

XIV. *Grant of Ralegh's effects to Shelberry and Smyth, on his attainder*..... 393

XV. *Confectio Raleghana*..... 399

XVI. *Ralegh's letter to Prince Henry on the model of a ship*. . . . . 400
XVII. *Orders to the companies in the fourth voyage to Guiana*. . . . . 403
XVIII. *King James' proclamation, June* 11, 1618. . 410
XIX. *The warrant for Ralegh's execution*. . . 411
XX. *Lorkin's letter, descriptive of Ralegh's execution*. . . . . 413
XXI. *King James' Declaration relative to Ralegh*. . . . . 418
XXII. *Examination of Hume's arguments against Ralegh*. . . . . 447
XXIII. *Letter from Sir John Harington to Dr. John Hill* . . . . . 456

THE

# LIFE

OF

# SIR WALTER RALEGH.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Cecil's second letter....Carleton's two letters....Brookes' recantation....Cobham practised upon....Sir J. Hawle's observation....The jury repent....Coke satirised....Ralegh's return to prison....His letter to the king....He expects death....His letter to his wife....A prisoner in the Tower....His effects granted to trustees....His wife admitted to him....His second son born....Tower anecdotes....The persons admitted to him....Falsely named in the gun-powder plot....Lady Ralegh petitions the king....Sanderson's conduct....Ralegh brought before Cecil....His life-interest in Sherborne granted him....A flaw in the conveyance to his son....Car solicits Sherborne....Ralegh's letter to Car....Sherborne granted to Car....Ralegh's occupations in the Tower....His cordial....He is favoured by the queen and Prince Henry....Anecdote of Cobham's examination....A saying of Prince Henry....Ralegh writes against the marriages with Savoy....His letter to Prince Henry....*

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THERE are extant several letters relative to this conspiracy, beside those in the preceding chapter. I have selected the three following, as more particularly illustrative of the sentiments of the time upon the trials of the conspirators, as well as descriptive of the measures which ensued upon them. That from Cecil to Sir Thomas Parry, is, I believe, now made public for the first time; and requires to be read with the caution which every thing coming from that character (particularly in regard to the circumstances in which he stood with Ralegh) demands.

LORD CECIL, SECRETARY OF STATE, TO SIR THOMAS PARRY, AMBASSADOR IN FRANCE.

*From the court at Wilton,*[a] *this* 1st *of Dec.* 1603.

'SIR,—It is not unlikely but many reports will be made, according to the diversity of men's humours, of the course of the proceedings about the prisoners, of which I have heretofore summarily written unto you;

[a] On account of the plague in London, the king retired to the earl of Pembroke's seat at Wilton.

and, therefore, because you may know what is true and what is false, I have thought good particularly to relate thus much unto you.

The 15th of last month were publicly arraigned, at Winchester castle, Mr. George Brooke, Mr. Griffin Markham, Sir Edward Parham, Bartholomew Brookesby, and Anthony Copley, esquires; William Watson, and William Clarke, priests. They were all convicted by their own confessions, and found guilty of high treason, for having practised to surprise his majesty's person, with the court, and as many counsellors as they could find about him. Beside, to have taken the tower of London, or the castle of Dover, and to have conveyed the king thither, under pretence of safety, and then to have persuaded him to assent to these three points.—1. To a general pardon for all those that were interested in the surprise; 2. To grant a toleration of popish religion; And, 3. To alter divers principal officers of state, in whose places they had already designed some of their complices. As, namely, Watson the priest to have been chancellor of England; Mr. George Brooke, to have been lord-treasurer; Sir Griffin Markham, principal secretary; the Lord Grey, earl-marshal of England, and master of the horse. They also intended, after the king should have been brought to the Tower, to have sent for the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and to have imprisoned them in case they should have shewed the least disgust of these proceedings.

This was the general project agreed upon among themselves; in the executing whereof it was found that there were great varieties of opinions, some imagining 300 men to suffice for this design, some more, some less; and it was confessed that Watson fed the rest with an assurance, if any resistance should be made against them, that he was able to bring forth great numbers among the papists, his friends and acquaintance.

At their arraignment, after the principal points were debated, and most of them proved at the bar, all joined in exclamation upon the priests, and especially upon Watson as the first contriver and mover of it, wherein how perversely he hath carried himself you may easily judge by this sequel. After that, by means of Mr. Brooke and Markham, the Lord Grey was drawn into this plot. Being of a contrary religion to these priests, they made cunningly this use of that poor nobleman, and gave out, to draw the greater number of papists unto them, that the Lord Grey with the puritans having a purpose to surprise the king, it was now time for the catholics to stand with the king, and to rescue him if any such attempt should be offered; not doubting but by this their good merit toward the king, to obtain a toleration of their religion. To this purpose they exhorted them to be in readiness, and to draw up toward the court, exacting an oath of them to be secret. Under this pretence the priests had drawn sundry gentlemen on their party, and, no doubt, had

put the state to great hazard, if their practice had not been in time discovered.

Sir Edward Parham being arraigned among the rest, was quitted by the jury, because the evidences brought in against him seemed not so strong as against the rest that had been the first plotters, and misleaders of others. What will become of them now that they stand in his majesty's mercy, I cannot yet advertise you; but that order was given yesterday that both the priests should be executed at Winchester.

Concerning Sir Walter Ralegh, he was brought to his trial the 17th day, at the place aforesaid. He was indicted for joining with the Lord Cobham in entertaining of another practice, to dispossess his majesty and his royal issue of this crown, and to have set up the Lady Arbella Stuart. For better accomplishing whereof, it was said they intended to have craved the assistance of the king of Spain, and the Archduke Albert, for borrowing of 5 or 600,000 crowns, to be bestowed here upon discontented persons, and such as should otherwise seem fit to be entertained for this purpose. And the Lord Cobham took upon him the rather to induce the king of Spain to the loan of this money, (under colour of a licence which he had obtained of the king to travel beyond the seas), to have gone personally to the archduke, and into Spain to the king, and to have procured letters from the Lady Arbella unto them both, and to the duke of Savoy: by which she

should have promised,—1st, to establish a perfect peace and confederacy with them; next, to grant a toleration of popish religion; and, 3dly, to promise not to marry herself but with the consent and good liking of them three. Farthermore, Sir Walter was accused to have dealt with the Lord Cobham for an invasion to be made in England from Spain.

All which accusations Sir Walter Ralegh diffidently denied, and did as much as wit of man could devise, to clear himself. Yet the accusation of the Lord Cobham being of that nature, as it implied the accusing of his own self withal, (than which kind of proof the law regardeth none greater), he was found guilty of treason upon that accusation, with other circumstances precedent and subsequent. For, although the Lord Cobham did retract his former accusation, yet that was upon intelligence in the Tower, betwixt him and Sir Walter Ralegh, who got a letter for testimony of his own innocency, under the Lord Cobham's hand, which would have swayed the jury much, if the Lord Cobham had not the night before Sir Walter's arraignment, laid open how Sir Walter practised for that letter by one Hardy, a son of the new lieutenant, accusing him freshly of being an instigator of him to deal with Aremberg for a pension of £1500 a-year, only to be a spy for Spain, if the peace went not forward. Which, when Sir Walter heard, notwithstanding many of his former denials that he never knew the Lord Cobham Spanishly affected in any thing, he had no other evasion,

but confessed, at the bar, that the Lord Cobham indeed moved that to him, but not he to the Lord Cobham.

You shall also understand, that at the first beginning, before ever the Lord Cobham was suspected, Sir Walter having been examined only about himself, immediately wrote a letter to the Lord Cobham that he had been examined upon him, and that he had cleared him to the lords; wishing him to be wary; if he were examined, to remember that one witness could not overthrow him. Which being done before ever Cobham was called in question, and being added to the accusation of the Lord Cobham, was an argument that Ralegh's denials of other things were also false. Beside, it may be remembered, upon Ralegh's first commitment to the Tower, how suspiciously he carried himself in offering to stab himself with a knife, as heretofore you have heard.

The Friday after, the Lord Cobham was arraigned before thirty-one of the peers, the lord-chancellor sitting as high-steward. He denied then that Ralegh was privy to his purpose to go into Spain. And for the matter of money to be gotten for discontented persons, he confessed that it was a conceit of his own thoughts, never communicated to any, but died in him almost as soon as it was harboured in his mind, though he did reveal it to the lords of the council, when they examined him about other matters. Concerning the setting up of the

Lady Arbella, he fastened it upon his brother, George Brooke. And for Sir Walter Ralegh, though he confessed that in many things he had done him wrong, yet he maintained still the pension sought for by him; and withal, that Sir Walter moved to solicit Aremberg to persuade the king of Spain to send an army into Milford-haven. For being privy to the undutiful speeches of the king, wherewith he was also charged, as namely, *that it would never be well in England till the king and his cubs*, meaning his royal issue, *were taken away*, he took damnation upon him if ever he thought such a matter.

The next day after, the Lord Grey was arraigned and convicted, for assenting and being an actor in the priests' treason. He was drawn in at first by Mr. Brooke and Markham, not knowing that the priests and so many papists were engaged in the action; whereof, afterward when he had knowledge, he sought to sever himself from that party, by dissuading the execution of the project till some fitter time. Wherein his own reasons were, that he would be loth to join with a catholic party until he had a good number of his; in case they should, after they had made use of him, offer him any injury. And so stands he condemned.

There remaineth now that I do resolve you of some doubts, which you might conceive concerning Lady Arbella, Count Aremberg, and other persons named in the Lord Cobham's and Sir Wal-

ter Ralegh's indictment, how far they are to be touched with it or not. And therefore you shall understand, that as that practice was discovered in the very infancy of it, before it was either put in action, or imparted to any, so far the Lady Arbella, the archduke, and king of Spain, they were merely ignorant of any such thing, which these men had but conceived in their minds, and discoursed of among themselves. But for the count of Aremberg, with whom the Lord Cobham had had private meetings, and intercourse of letters, it was always pretended to him, howsoever it might be intended by the Lord Cobham, to be for the advancement of the peace; and that the money which the count was contented to promise, should be bestowed only for gaining of friends to stand for the treaty, without any farther reference.

Thus have you now the particulars at large of these proceedings, of which you may make such use for his majesty's service as you shall think convenient, in your own discretion, delivering the particulars as there shall be cause, but not as a copy of my letter.

Your very loving and assured friend,

ROBERT CECYLL.'[b]

[b] See the copy-book of Sir Thomas Parry's letters in Mr. Pepyps' library in Magdalen college, Cambridge. A copy in Dr. Birch's hand-writing may be seen among his MS. collections in the British museum, N°. 4176.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON[c] TO MR. JOHN CHAMBERLAIN, DATED WINCHESTER, NOV. 27, 1603.

'SIR,—I was taking care how to send unto you, and little looked for so good a means as your man, who came to me this morning; and though he would in all haste begone, I have stayed him this night, to have time to discourse unto you these tragical proceedings.

I was not present at the first or second arraignment, wherein Brooke, Markham, Brookesby, Copley, and the two priests, were condemned, for practising the surprise of the king's person, the taking of the Tower, the deposing of counsellors, and proclaiming liberty of religion. They were all condemned upon their own confessions, which were set down under their own hands, as declarations; and compiled with such labour and care, to make the matter they undertook seem very feasible, as if they had feared they should not say enough to hang themselves. Pirra was acquitted, being only drawn in by the priests as an assistant, without knowing the purpose; yet had he gone the same way as the

[c] Sir D. Carleton, afterward Viscount Dorchester, was, at the time he wrote these letters, secretary to the earl of Northumberland, and an ear and eye witness of most that passed in these arraignments and executions. The letters were communicated to Philip Lord Wharton, by Mr. Dudley Carleton, in 1651, and extracted from the Wharton papers by Lord Hardwicke.—See his State papers, I, 377.

rest, (as it is thought), save for a word the Lord Cecil cast in the way as his cause was in handling, that the king's glory consisted as much in freeing the innocent, as condemning the guilty.

The commisioners for this trial were, the lord-chamberlain, lord of Devon, Lord Henry Howard, Lord Cecil, Lord Wotton, the vice-chamberlain, the two chief-justices, Justice Gawdy, and Warburton. Of the king's council, none were employed in that, or the arraignment, but the attorney, Heale, and Philips; and in effect none but the attorney.

Sir Walter Ralegh served for a whole act, and played all the parts himself. His cause was disjoined from the priests, as being a practice only between himself and the Lord Cobham, to have brought in the Spaniard, to have raised rebellion in the realm, by fastening money upon discontents, to have set up the Lady Arabella, and to have tied her to certain conditions; as to have a perpetual peace with Spain; not to have bestowed herself in marriage but at the direction of the Spaniard; and to have granted liberty of religion. The evidence against him was only Cobham's confession, which was judged sufficient to condemn him; and a letter was produced, written by Cobham the day before, by which he accused Ralegh as the first practiser of the treason betwixt them; which served to turn against him, though he shewed, to countervail this, a letter, written by Cobham, and delivered to him in the Tower, by which he was clearly acquitted. After

sentence given, his request was, to have his answers related to the king, and pardon begged; of which, if there were no hope, then that Cobham might die first. He answered with that temper, wit, learning, courage, and judgment, that, save that it went with the hazard of his life, it was the happiest day that ever he spent. And so well he shifted all advantages that were taken against him, that were not *fama malum gravius quam res*, and an ill name half hanged, in the opinion of all men, he had been acquitted.

The two first that brought the news to the king, were, Roger Ashton, and a Scotchman; whereof one affirmed, that never any man spoke so well in times past, nor would do in the world to come; and the other said, that whereas when he saw him first, he was so led with the common hatred, that he would have gone a hundred miles to have seen him hanged, he would, ere he parted, have gone a thousand to have saved his life. In one word, never was man so hated, and so popular in so short a time. It was thought the lords should have been arraigned on Tuesday last, but they were put off till Friday and Saturday; and had their trials apart, before the lord-chancellor, (as lord-steward for both those days), eleven earls, nineteen barons. The duke,[d] the earl of Mar, and many Scottish lords, stood as spectators; and of our ladies, the greatest part, as the Lady Nottingham, the Lady Suffolk, and the Lady Arabella,

[d] Of Lenox, then the only one of that degree.

who heard herself much spoken of these days. But the arraignment before, she was more particularly remembered, as by Sir Walter Ralegh, for a woman with whom he had no acquaintance, and one whom, of all that ever he saw, he never liked; and by Serjeant Heale, as one that had no more right to the crown than himself; and for any claim that he had to it, he utterly disavowed it.

Cobham led the way on Friday, and made such a fasting-day's piece of work of it, that he discredited the place to which he was called; never was seen so poor and abject a spirit. He heard his indictment with much fear and trembling, and would sometimes interrupt it, by forswearing what he thought to be wrongly inserted; so as, by his fashion, it was known ere he spake, what he would confess or deny. In his first answer, he said he had changed his mind since he came to the bar; for whereas he came with an intention to have made his confession, without denying any thing, now seeing many things inserted in this indictment with which he could not be charged, being not able in one word to make distinction of many parts, he must plead to all *not guilty*. For any thing that belonged to the Lady Arabella, he denied the whole accusation; only said, she had sought his friendship, and his brother Brooke had sought hers. For the other purposes, he said, he had hammered in his brains some such imaginations, but never had purpose to bring them to effect. Upon Ralegh, he exclaimed as one who had stirred

him up to discontent, and thereby overthrown his fortunes. Against him, he said, that he had once propounded to him a means for the Spaniard to invade England, which was to bring down an army to the Groyne, under pretence to send them into the Low countries, and land them at Milford-haven; that he had made himself a pensioner to Spain for 1500 crowns by the year, to give intelligence; and, for an earnest of his diligence, had already related to the Count d'Aremberg, the particularities of what passed in the States' audiences at Greenwich. His brother's confession was read against him, wherein he accused him of a contract made with Aremberg for 500,000 crowns, to bestow among discontents, whereof Ralegh was to have had 10,000, Grey as much, and Brooke 1000; the rest, as they should find fit men to bestow it on. He excepted against his brother, as an incompetent accuser, baptizing him with the name of a viper; and laid to his charge (though far from the purpose) the getting of his wife's sister with child; in which it is thought he did young Coppinger some wrong.

A letter was produced which he wrote to Aremberg for so much money; and Aremberg's answer, consenting for the furnishing of that sum. He then flew to his former retreat, that in this likewise he had no ill-meaning, and excused Aremberg as one that meant only thereby to farther the peace. When particularities were farther urged, that in his intended travel, he meant to have gone into the Low

countries to the archduke; from thence into Savoy; so into Spain; then have returned by Jersey; and there to have met Ralegh, and to have brought some money from the well-spring where it was to be had, he confessed imaginations, but no purposes; and still laid the fault upon his own weaknesses, in that he suffered himself to be misled by Ralegh. Being asked of his two letters to different purposes, the one excusing, the other condemning Ralegh; he said the last was true, but the other was drawn from him by device, in the Tower, by young Harvey, the lieutenant's son, whom Ralegh had corrupted, and carried intelligence betwixt them, (for which he is there committed, and is likely to be arraigned at the King's-bench). Having thus accused all his friends, and so little excused himself, the peers were not long in deliberation what to judge; and after sentence of condemnation given, he begged a great while for life and favour, alleging his confession as a meritorious act.

Grey, quite in another key, began with great assurances and alacrity; spake a long and eloquent speech, first to the lords, and then to the judges, and lastly to the king's council; and told them well of their charges, and spake effectually for himself. He held them the whole day, from eight in the morning till eight at night, in subtle traverses and scapes; but the evidence was too conspicuous, both by Brooke's and Markham's confessions, that he was acquainted with the surprise. Yet the lords were

long ere they could all agree, and loth to come out with so hard a censure against him. For though he had some heavy enemies, as his old antagonist, who was mute before his face, but spake within very unnobly against him; yet most of them strove with themselves, and would fain (as it seemed) have dispensed with their consciences to have shewed him favour. At the pronouncing of the opinion of the lords, and the demand whether he had any thing to say why sentence of death should not be given against him, these only were his words.—'I have nothing to say;' there he paused long: 'and yet a word of Tacitus comes in my mind,—*Non eadem omnibus decora;* the house of the Wiltons had spent many lives in their prince's service, and Grey cannot beg his. *God send the king a long and prosperous reign, and to your lordships all honour.*

After sentence given, he only desired to have one Travers,[c] a divine, sent for to come to him, if he might live two days. If he were to die before that, then he might have one Field, whom he thought to be near. There was great compassion had of this gallant young lord; for so clear and fiery a spirit had not been seen by any that had been present at like trials. Yet the lord-steward condemned his manner much, terming it Lucifer's pride, and preached much humiliation; and the judges liked him as little, because he disputed with them against

[c] A puritan, the antagonist of Hooker.

their laws. We cannot yet judge what will become of him or the rest; for all are not like to go one way. Cobham is of the surest side, for he is thought least dangerous; and the Lord Cecil undertakes to be his friend. They say the priests shall lead the dance to-morrow, and Brooke next after; for he proves to be the knot that tied together the three conspiracies; the rest hang indifferent betwixt mercy and justice, wherein the king hath now subject to practice himself.'

* * * * * * *

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

'SIR—I know not when or how to send to you; yet here happening an accident worth your knowledge, I cannot but put it in record while the memory of it is fresh; and, for the rest, stand to the venture. But because I have taken a time of good leisure, and it is likely this letter will take his leisure ere it come at you, I may as well leap in where I left, when I wrote to you by your man, and proceed in an order by narration; since this was a part of the same play, and that other acts came betwixt, to make up a tragical comedy.

The two priests that led the way to the execution were very bloodily handled, for they were both cut down alive; and Clarke, to whom more favour was intended, had the worse luck; for he both strove to help himself, and spake after he was cut down.

They died boldly both; and Watson (as he would have it seem) willing; wishing he had more lives to spend, and one to lose, for every man he had by his treachery drawn into this treason. Clarke stood somewhat upon his justification, and thought he had hard measure; but imputed it to his function, and therefore thought his death meritorious, as a kind of martyrdom. Their quarters were set on Winchester gates, and their heads on the first tower of the castle. Brooke was beheaded in the castle-yard, on Monday last; and, to double his grief, had S^r^. Crofts in his sight from the scaffold, which drove him first to discontent.[f]

There was no greater assembly than I have seen at ordinary executions, nor no man of quality more than the lord of Arundel and young Somerset; only the bishop of Chichester, who was sent from the court two days before, to prepare him to his end, could not get loose from him; but, by Brooke's earnest entreaty, was fain to accompany him to the scaffold, and serve for his ghostly father. He died constantly, (and, to seeming, religiously); spake not much, but what he said was well and assured. He did somewhat extenuate his offences, both in the treasons, and the course of his life, naming these rather errors than capital crimes; and his former faults, sins; but not so heinous as they were traduced, which he referred to the God of truth, and

[f] Probably from missing the mastership.

time to discover, and so left it, as if somewhat lay yet hid, which would one day appear for his justification. The bishop went from him to the Lord Cobham; and, at the same time, the bishop of Winchester was with Ralegh, both by express order from the king, as well to prepare them for their ends, as likewise to bring them to liberal confessions, and by that means reconcile the contradictions of the one's open accusation, and the other's peremptory denial. The bishop of Chichester had soon done what he came for, finding in Cobham a willingness to die, and readiness to die well; with purpose at his death to affirm as much as he had said against Ralegh. But the other bishop had more to do with his charge; for, though, for his conscience, he found him well settled, and resolved to die a christian, and a good protestant; for the point of confession, he found him so strait-laced, that he would yield to no part of Cobham's accusation; only the pension, he said, was once mentioned, but never proceeded in.

Grey, in the meantime, with his minister Field, having had the like summons for death, spent his time in great devotions; but with that careless regard of that with which he was threatened, that he was observed neither to eat or sleep the worse, or be anywise distracted from his accustomed fashions.

Markham was told he should likewise die; but, by secret message from some friends at court, had still such hope given him, that he would not believe the worst news till the last day; and though he could be

content to talk with the preacher which was assigned him, it was rather to pass time, than for any good purpose; for he was catholicly disposed; to think of death no way disposed.

While these men were so occupied at Winchester, there was no small doings about them at court, for life or death; some pushing at the wheel one way, some another. The lords of the council joined in opinion and advice to the king, now in the beginning of his reign, to shew as well examples of mercy as severity, and to gain the title of Clemens, as well as Justus. But some others, led by their private spleen and passions, drew as hard the other way; and Patrick Galloway, in his sermon on Tuesday, preached so hotly against remissness and moderation of justice, in the head of justice, as if it were one of the seven deadly sins. The king held himself upright betwixt two waters; and first, let the lords know, that since the law had passed upon the prisoners, and that they themselves had been their judges, it became not them to be petitioners for that, but rather to press for execution of their own ordinances; and to others, gave as good reasons, let them know that he would go no whit the faster for their driving, but would be led as his own judgement and affections would move him; but seemed rather to lean to this side than the other, by the care he took to have the law take his course, and the execution hasted.

Warrants were signed, and sent to Sir Benjamin Tichborne, on Wednesday last, at night, for Mark-

ham, Grey, and Cobham, who in this order were to take their turns, as yesterday, being Friday, about ten of the clock. A fouler day could hardly have been picked out, or fitter for such a tragedy. Markham being brought to the scaffold, was much dismayed, and complained much of his hard hap, to be deluded with hopes, and brought to that place unprepared. One might see in his face the very picture of sorrow; but he seemed not to want resolution; for a napkin being offered by a friend that stood by, to cover his face, he threw it away, saying, he could look upon death without blushing. He took leave of some friends that stood near, and betook himself to his devotions, after his manner; and, those ended, prepared himself to the block.

The sheriff, in the meantime, was secretly withdrawn, by one John Gib, a Scotch groom of the bed-chamber; whereupon the execution was stayed, and Markham left upon the scaffold to entertain his own thoughts, which, no doubt, were as melancholy as his countenance, sad and heavy. The sheriff, at his return, told him, that since he was so ill prepared, he should yet have two hours respite, so led him from the scaffold, without giving him any more comfort, and locked him into the great hall to walk with Prince Arthur. The Lord Grey, whose turn was next, was led to the scaffold by a troop of the young courtiers, and was supported on both sides by two of his best friends; and coming in this equipage, had such gaiety and cheer in his

countenance, that he seemed a dapper young bridegroom. At his first coming on the scaffold, he fell on his knees, and his preacher made a long prayer to the present purpose, which he seconded himself with one of his own making, which, for the phrase, was somewhat affected, and suited to his other speeches; but, for the fashion, expressed the fervency and zeal of a religious spirit. In his confession, he said, though God knew this fault of his was far from the greatest, yet he knew, and could but acknowledge his heart to be faulty; for which he asked pardon of the king; and thereupon entered into a long prayer for the king's good estate, which held us in the rain more than half an hour; but being come to a full point, the sheriff stayed him, and said, he had received orders from the king, to change the order of the execution, and that the Lord Cobham was to go before him. Whereupon he was likewise led to Prince Arthur's hall, and his going away seemed more strange unto him than his coming thither; for he had no more hope given him than of an hour's respite; neither could any man yet dive into the mystery of this strange proceeding.

The Lord Cobham, who was now to play his part, and, by his former actions, promised nothing but *matiere pour rire*, did much cozen the world; for he came to the scaffold with good assurance, and contempt of death. He said some short prayers after his minister, and so out-prayed the company that helped to pray with him, that a stander by said,

*he had a good mouth in a cry, but was nothing single.* Some few words he used, to express his sorrow for his offence to the king, and craved pardon of him and the world. For Sir Walter Ralegh, he took it, upon the hope of his soul's resurrection, that what he had said of him was true, and with those words would have taken a short farewell of the world, with that constancy and boldness, that we might see by him, it is an easier matter to die well than live well.

He was stayed by the sheriff, and told, that there resteth yet somewhat else to be done, for that he was to be confronted with some other of the prisoners, but named none. So as Grey and Markham being brought back to the scaffold, as they then were, but nothing acquainted with what had passed, no more than the lookers-on with what should follow, looked strange one upon the other, like men beheaded, and met again in the other world. Now all the actors being together on the stage (as use is at the end of a play), the sheriff made a short speech unto them, by way of the interrogatory of the heinousness of their offences, the justness of their trials, their lawful condemnation, and due execution there to be performed, to all which they assented; then, saith the sheriff, see the mercy of your prince, who, of himself, hath sent hither a countermand, and given you your lives. There was then no need to beg a *plaudite* of the audience, for it was given with such hues and cries, that it went from the castle in-

to the town, and there began afresh, as if there had been some suchlike accident. And this experience was made of the difference of examples of justice and mercy; that in this last no man could cry loud enough, *God save the king*; and at the holding up of Brooke's head, when the executioner began the same cry, he was not seconded by the voice of any one man but the sheriff. You must think, if the spectators were so glad, the actors were not sorry, for even those that went best resolved to death, were glad of life. Cobham vowed openly, if ever he proved traitor again, never so much as to beg his life; and Grey, that since he had his life, without begging, he would deserve it. Markham returned with a merrier countenance than he came to the scaffold.

Ralegh, you must think (who had a window opened that way), had hammers working in his head, to beat out the meaning of this stratagem. His turn was to come on Monday next; but the king has pardoned him with the rest, and confined him with the two lords to the tower of London, there to remain during pleasure. Markham, Brookesby, and Copley, are to be banished the realm. This resolution was taken by the king without man's help, and no man can rob him of the praise of yesterday's action; for the lords knew no other, but that execution was to go forward, till the very hour it should be performed; and then calling them before him, he told them how much he had

been troubled to resolve in this business; for to execute Grey, who was a noble young spirited fellow, and save Cobham, who was as base and unworthy, were a manner of injustice. To save Grey, who was of a proud insolent nature, and execute Cobham, who had shewed great tokens of humility and repentance, were as great a solecism; and so went on with Plutarch's comparisons in the rest, still travelling in contrarities, but holding the conclusion in so indifferent balance, that the lords knew not what to look for till the end came out, *and therefore I have saved them all.* The miracle was as great there as with us at Winchester, and it took like effect; for the applause that began about the king, went from thence into the presence, and so round about the court.

I send you a copy of the king's letter, which was privately written the Wednesday night, and the messenger dispatched the Thursday about noon. But one thing had like to have marred the play; for the letter was closed and delivered him unsigned; which the king remembered himself, and called for him back again. And at Winchester there was another cross adventure, for John Gib could not get so near the scaffold that he could speak to the sheriff, but was thurst out among the boys, and was forced to call out to Sir James Hayes, or else Markham might have lost his neck. There were other bye passages, I could readily call them to mind; but here is enough already for *un*

*petit mot de lettre;* and therefore I bid you heartily farewell. From Salisbury, December 11, 1603.

Yours, &c.

DUDLEY CARLETON.'

A circumstance worthy of remark, as it mars much of the evidence on the trial, is the recantation made by Brooke at his death, which Cecil thus describes to Mr. Winwood, in a letter dated December 12th.— *After the two priests were executed, which was upon the 29th of November, the next that followed was Mr. George Brooke, who was beheaded the fifth of this present, on a scaffold newly erected in the castle of Winchester; where he made a patient and constant end, after such godly prayers as the divines then present read with him. Of him I have no more to say, but that I hope he is with God, for he died penitently, and in this one thing, above others, shewed a remorse; in that he recalled to the bishop, upon receiving of the sacrament, that accusation which he had made of his brother, concerning those odious words supposed to be uttered by the Lord Cobham; namely, (meaning thereby our gracious sovereign and his royal issue)* that it would never be well until the fox and cubs were taken away. *But for the rest, whereof he had accused the Lord Cobham and the Lord Grey, he constantly persisted therein till the hour of his death.*[g]

[g] Winwood's Memorials, II, xi.

The reader has now before him a collection of facts and contemporary observations, which may enable him, so far as existing records afford, to form an opinion for himself, in a matter on which, from the various sentiments it has produced as viewed by different beholders, it is difficult for another to decide for him; and to judge how far Sir Walter is to be implicated in the treason supposed. Those who have perused Cecil's correspondence with King James, through Lord Henry Howard, previously to the king's accession to this throne, will have a clearer insight into the business, from being better enabled to enter into the malevolence which those noblemen *in reality* entertained against Ralegh; while every reader will discern, that much of the mystery of the story has arisen from the dread so apparent, of exposing the simple Cobham to the shrewdness of Sir Walter's questions.

In a collection of letters, published by Sir Toby Matthews, in 1660,[h] is one from a member of parliament, to Mr. John Donne, wherein he confirms what is implied in the trial, that it was *by device* Cobham was brought to make his first accusation against Ralegh, uttering it in passion, occasioned by his vexation at what (as he had been made to believe) Sir Walter had accused him of at his own examination.

Upon his *vivâ voce* evidence not being admitted

[h] Octavo, p. 281.

at the trial, King James himself is said to have remarked, that could Cobham have spoken any thing against Ralegh, they would have brought him from Constantinople to have accused him.[i]

Sir John Hawles, solicitor-general, in the reign of King William, justly observes, *how very ill did it become the Chief-justice Popham, a person of learning and parts, in the attainting Sir Walter Ralegh, (of which trial all since that time have complained), when he gave his opinion, that the affidavit of the Lord Cobham, taken in the absence of Sir Walter, might be given in evidence against him, without producing the Lord Cobham face to face to Sir Walter, (which was desired by him), although the Lord Cobham was then forthcoming. When he summed up the evidence, he said,*—'it now comes in my mind why you may not have your accuser come face to face, for such an one is easily brought to retract, when he seeth there is no hope of his own life: it is dangerous that any traitors should have access to, or conference with, one another; when they see themselves must die, they will think it best to have their fellow live, that he may commit the like treason again, and so in some sort seek revenge.' *Which, beside that it is against the common law and reason, it is against the express statute of Edward VI, which takes care that in treason the witness shall be brought face to face of the person accused.*

[i] Observations on Saunderson's Hist. 4to, p. 8.

*Did it become a just man, to give his opinion, and bethink himself of a reason afterward?* [k]

In regard to Cobham's letter to the lords, which seems to have had great weight with the jury, Sir Thomas Overbury, in his account of Sir Walter's arraignment,[l] informs us, that it was written in consequence of a letter from his wife, implying that there was no way of saving his own life but by accusing Ralegh. While Sir Anthony Welden, in his Court of King James,[m] asserts, that Sir William Wade got Cobham *by a trick* to write his name upon a piece of blank paper, and that the accusation was afterward forged above the signature.

Whatever the truth may be, we are told that the verdict in the end *so far touched some of the jury in conscience*, that they demanded pardon of Sir Walter on their knees;[n] and, (however fabulous it may appear after a perusal of the trial), Coke, who had retired into a garden for fresh air, on being informed that the jury had brought in Ralegh guilty of treason, is said to have exclaimed to the messenger, *thou art surely mistaken, I myself only accused him of misprision of treason.* [o]

At any rate, we must allow, that no circumstance

[k] Hargrave's State trials, IV, 169.

[l] Quarto, 1648, p. 24.

[m] Second edit. 12mo, 1651, p. 36.

[n] Osborn's Misc. works, 11th edit. 12mo, II, 109.

[o] This relation, the writer of the Observations on Saunderson's History, asserts, *upon the word of a Christian*, to have received from Sir Edward Coke's own mouth. See p. 9.

appeared in the course of his trial, which could justify Ralegh's condemnation. And that the written evidence of a single witness, (a man without honour or understanding, contradictory in his testimony, not confronted with Sir Walter, and unsupported by any concurring circumstance), should be the ground of it, should cost him an imprisonment of above twelve years, with the loss of most of his property, and in the end be the plea for taking away his life, must be pronounced a proceeding scandalous in the extreme. The abuse thrown out by the celebrated Coke, has been justly deemed a great reflection on his memory, and on the manners of the age. The latter, however, appears not to have been so deficient in civility, as to suffer such conduct to pass uncensured even upon its public theatre. Shakspeare, in his Twelfth Night, is supposed to allude to Coke on this very occasion, when he puts the following speech in the mouth of Sir Toby Belch.

*Go, write in a martial hand, be crust and brief; it is no matter how witty, so it be eloquent and full of invention. Taunt him with the licence of ink,* if thou *thou'st* him some thrice it shall not be amiss; *and as many lies as will lie in thy sheet of paper, although the sheet were big enough for the bed of Ware in England, set 'em down. Go about it—let there be gall enough in thy ink, though thou write with a goose pen, no matter—about it.* [p]

[p] Act III, Scene 4.—'*Thou* viper, for I *thou* thee *thou* traitor,' are probably the three *thou's* alluded to.—See the Trial.

Indignant as he must have been at the proceedings, as well as wearied with the persecution, of the court, Sir Walter is said to have accompanied the sheriff to the prison *with admirable erection, yet in such sort as a condemned man should do.*[q] Shortly afterward, he addressed the following letter to the king.

SIR WALTER RALEGH TO KING JAMES I.

'The life which I had, most mighty prince, the law hath taken from me, and I am now but the same earth and dust out of which I was first framed. If my offences had any proportion with your majesty's mercy, I should not despair; or if my crime had any quantity with your majesty's unmeasurable goodness, I might yet have hope—but it is your great majesty that must judge of both, and not I. Blood, name, gentry, or estate, have I now none, no not so much as a being; no, not so much as *vita plantæ*. I have only a penitent soul in a body of iron, which moveth toward the loadstone of death, and cannot be withheld from touching it, except your majesty's mercy turn the point toward me which expelleth. Lost I am for hearing a vain man, for *hearing only*, and never believing or approving. And so little account I made of that speech of his which was my condemnation, (as the living God doth truly witness!) that I never remembered any such thing, till it was at my trial

[q] Overbury's Arraignment of Ralegh, p. 25.

objected against me. So did he repay my care, who cared to make him good; which (now too late) see no care of man can effect!

'But God, for mine offences toward him hath laid this heavy burthen upon me; miserable and unfortunate wretch that I am! But not for loving you, my sovereign, hath God laid this sorrow on me. For he knoweth, with whom I may not dissemble, that I honoured your majesty by fame, and loved and admired you by knowledge. So, whether I live or die, your majesty's true and loving servant, and loyal subject, I will live and die.

'If I now write what doth not become me, most merciful prince, vouchsafe to ascribe it to the counsel of a dead heart, and to a mind which sorrow hath broken and confounded. But the more my misery is, the more is your majesty's mercy if you please to behold it; and the less I can deserve, the more liberal your majesty's gift shall be. God only shall imitate your majesty herein, both in giving freely, and by giving to such a one as from whom there can be no retribution, but only a deign to repay a lent life with the same great love, which the same great goodness shall please to bestow it.

'This being the first letter that ever your majesty received from a dead man, I humbly submit myself to the will of my supreme lord, and shall willingly and patiently suffer whatsoever it shall please your majesty to impose upon me. WALTER RALEGH.'[r]

[r] Harleian and other collections, and Birch's Works of Ralegh, II, 382.

Sir Walter was confined at Winchester for nearly a month, and probably lived during the greater part of this period in the daily expectation of death. In the letter to Mr. Winwood, already quoted, Cecil writes, that the king *pretended to forbear Sir Walter Ralegh for the present, until the Lord Cobham's death had given some light how far he would make good his accusation.*[s] His execution was afterward fixed to take place on December the 12th, three days previously to which, the comedy on the scaffold, already related, had been acted; and Ralegh was reprieved with the rest, and ordered to be committed prisoner, as well as Grey and Cobham, to the tower of London during pleasure.[t] It was in the interval of suspence that Sir Walter addressed the following interesting letter to his wife.

SIR WALTER TO LADY RALEGH.

'You shall now receive, my dear wife, my last words in these my last lines. My love I send you, that you may keep it when I am dead; and my counsel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not, by my will, present you with sorrows, dear Bess;—let them go into the grave

[s] Winwood's Memorials, II, XI.

[t] Cecil in his letter to Winwood, fixes the sham-execution to Friday, Dec. 9th,—the rest follows from Carleton's second letter.

with me, and be buried in the dust. And seeing it is not the will of God that ever I shall see you more in this life, bear it patiently, and with a heart like thyself.

First, I send you all the thanks which my heart can conceive, or my words can express, for your many travails and care taken for me; which, though they have not taken effect as you wished, yet my debt to you is not the less. But pay it I never shall in this world.

Secondly, I beseech you, for the love you bear me living, do not hide yourself many days after my death. But, by your travails, seek to help your miserable fortunes, and the right of your poor child. Thy mournings cannot avail me, I am but dust.

Thirdly, you shall understand that my land was conveyed *bona fide* to my child. The writings were drawn at Midsummer was twelvemonths. My honest cousin, Brett, can testify so much, and Dalberrie, too, can remember somewhat therein; and I trust my blood will quench their malice that have thus cruelly murdered me, and that they will not seek also to kill thee and thine with extreme poverty. To what friend to direct thee I know not, for all mine have left me in the true time of trial; and I plainly perceive that my death was determined from the first day. Most sorry I am, God knows, that, being thus surprised with death, I can leave you in no better estate. God is my witness I meant

you all my office of wines, or all that I could have purchased by selling it; half my stuff and all my jewels, but some one for the boy. But God hath prevented all my resolutions, even that Great God that ruleth all in all. But if you can live free from want, care for no more; the rest is but vanity. Love God, and begin betimes to repose yourself on him; and therein shall you find true and lasting riches, and endless comfort. For the rest, when you have travailed, and wearied your thoughts over all sorts of worldly cogitation, you shall but sit down by sorrow in the end. Teach your son also to love and fear God, while he is yet young, that the fear of God may grow up with him. And then God will be a husband to you, and a father to him; a husband and a father which cannot be taken from you.

Bayly oweth me £200, and Adrian Gilbert £600. In Jersey, also, I have much money owing me. Beside, the arrearages of the wines will pay my debts; and, howsoever you do, for my soul's sake, pay all poor men.

When I am gone, no doubt, you shall be sought to by many, for the world thinks that I was very rich. But take heed of the pretences of men, and their affections. For they last not, but in honest and worthy men; and no greater misery can befal you in this life, than to become a prey, and afterward to be despised. I speak not this, God knows, to dissuade you from marriage; for it will be best

for you, both in respect of the world and of God. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine. Death has cut us asunder; and God hath divided me from the world, and you from me.

Remember your poor child, for his father's sake, who chose you and loved you in his happiest time. Get those letters, if it be possible, which I writ to the lords, wherein I sued for my life. God is my witness, it was for you and yours that I desired life. But it is true that I disdain myself for begging it; for, know it, dear wife, that your son is the son of a true man, and one who, in his own respect, despiseth death, and all his mishapen and ugly forms.

I cannot write much. God, he knoweth, how hardly I steal this time while others sleep. And it is also high time that I should separate my thoughts from the world. Beg my dead body, which, living, was denied thee. And either lay it at Sherborne, if the land continue, or in Exeter church, by my father and mother. I can say no more, time and death call me away.

The everlasting, powerful, infinite, and omnipotent God, who is goodness itself, the true life and true light, keep thee and thine, have mercy on me, and teach me to forgive my persecutors and accusers, and send us to meet in his glorious kingdom. My dear wife, farewell! Bless my poor boy, pray for me, and let my good God hold you both in his arms!

Written with the dying hand of, sometime thy husband, but now, alas! overthrown,

Your's that was, but now not my own,

WALTER RALEGH.'[u]

Sir Walter was removed to the Tower on the 15th of December,[x] with little apprehension, probably, whatever his feelings may have been, that he should remain immured within those walls for above twelve years. In 1604, a grant was made of his goods and chattels, forfeited by his attainder, to John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, (trustees appointed by himself), for the benefit of his family and creditors.[y] Upon the earnest solicitation likewise of Lady Ralegh, she obtained permission to accompany Sir Walter in prison;[z] and in the latter part of this, or the beginning of the following year, she was delivered of her second son, Carew,[a] after an infecundity (as far as record goes) of ten years. 1604.

The life of a prisoner, however eminent, like that of a secluded scholar or a monk, affords but little which can interest posterity. The anecdotes transmitted to us of Sir Walter Ralegh's imprisonment,

[u] Harleian and other collections, and Birch's Works of Ralegh, II, 383.

[x] Stow's Annals.

[y] Appendix, N°. XIV.

[z] Oldys asserts this, without naming any authority. It is, however, confirmed by Sir W. Wade's letter of Aug. 19, 1605, quoted in this chapter.

[a] See Appendix, N°. XIII.

are peculiarly scanty; and we have now a long period of time to run over, with very little in proportion to it to detain our attention.

Among the Hatfield papers, are two letters from Sir William Wade, Lieutenant of the Tower, to Cecil, at that time newly created earl of Salisbury,
1605. dated August 17th and 19th, 1605, from which the following extracts relative to Ralegh's confinement are made.

*My lord treasurer and my lord of Devonshire met at the Tower on Monday at three of the clock in the afternoon, and gave me my oath. Though Sir Walter Ralegh used some speech of his dislike of me the day before, yet sithence he doth acknowledge his error, and seemeth to be very well satisfied.*

*Sir Walter Ralegh hath like access* (with Cobham) *of divers to him. The door of his chamber being alway open all the day to the garden, which indeed, is the only garden the lieutenant hath. And in the garden he hath converted a little hen-house to a still-house, where he doth spend his time all the day in distillations.*

*Persons permitted to have access to Sir Walter Ralegh.*

*His lady and son, and her waiting-maid.*

*John Talbot,*
*Peter Dean,*
*John Talbot, a boy,* } *these to remain in the tower with him.*

*Gilbert Hawthorn, a preacher,*
*Dr. Turner,*
*Dr. John, a surgeon,*
*John Shelberry,*
*Thomas Harriot,*
*His steward of Sherborne,*
} *to repair to him at convenient time.*[b]

Sir Edward Hoby, in a letter to Sir Thomas Edmonds, at that time ambassador at the court of Brussels, dated November 19th, 1605, in a *glowing* description which he gives his friend of the then recent gunpowder plot, writes, *Sir Walter Ralegh is much suspected to be privy to this action, for Whitelocke had had private conference late with him.*[c] But as I have nowhere else, either in the printed or manuscript collections, which I have had occasion to consult for the present work, found the slightest hint at the existence of a suspicion of this nature, and as it would probably have been made the most of against Sir Walter had there been any real ground for it, we may reasonably conclude that the insinuation was unfounded.

*The Lady Ralegh was here, kneeled to the king, but his majesty passed by her with silence,* is a postscript added by Mr. Rowland Whyte to his letter to the earl of Shrewsbury, dated Hampton-court, September 24, 1606, and preserved among the Tal- 1606.

[b] Birch's Collections in Brit. Mus. 4160, cxxi.
[c] Ibid, 4176.

bot papers.[d] This, while it discovers the unceasing solicitude of her ladyship in the cause of her husband, probably alludes less to any hopeless attempt at procuring his enlargement, than to an endeavour at relieving the difficulties under which the knight appears to have laboured in the settlement of his affairs. For, as was too probable, those on whom he had demands took advantage of his situation, and refused him justice. Mr. William Sanderson, in particular, who had married his neice, Margaret Snedale,[e] and had been entrusted by him in receiving considerable sums from his wine and other offices, at this time, instead of settling his arrear, pretended a claim of £2,000 on Sir Walter. The knight hereupon directed his trustees to commence an action against Sanderson, who was cast and thrown into prison;[f] which circumstance accounts for the spleen shewn by Sanderson's son to the memory of Sir Walter, in the contemptible History of Mary and James which he afterward wrote.

1608. The Hatfield papers furnish us another insulated letter from Sir William Wade to the earl of

[d] Talbot papers, Vol. L, f 65; and Lodge's Illustrations of Brit. Hist. III, 313.

[e] William Sanderson's Answer to a scurrilous pamphlet, entitled Observations upon a complete History of Mary and James, 4to, 1656.

[f] Observations on the History of Mary and James, already referred to, p. 2.

Salisbury, dated December 9, 1608, from which the following passage is extracted, in allusion to our subject.

*Sir Walter Ralegh sithence his being before your lordship, (whereof notice is generally taken) doth shew himself upon the wall in his garden to the view of the people, who gaze upon him, and he stareth on them. Which he doth in his cunning humour, that it might be thought his being before your lordship was rather to clear than to charge him. And so he challengeth his keeper, that your lordship gave him new liberty, for his son to go abroad, and his physician to resort to him. Which, I assure your lordship, he useth only to justify himself; and the world expected rather farther restraint, than liberty. Which made me bold, in discretion and conveniency, to restrain him again, and meet with his indiscreet humour, until your lordship shall otherwise order.*[g]

His Sherborne estate had been settled by Sir Walter, as we have seen, upon his elder son, toward the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign;[h] and, notwithstanding his attainder, the king had granted him his life-interest in it.[i] The knight's enemies were, however, ill satisfied, as long as any part of his ruin remained incomplete. The conveyance, formerly made by Sir Walter, was scrutinized with

[g] Birch's Collections in Brit. Mus. 4160, cxxiii.

[h] See chap. v, and Letter to wife in this chapter.

[i] See Appendix, N°. XIII.

malignant diligence, and referred to Sir John Popham, lord-chief-justice of the king's-bench. His lordship, in a letter written in August 1605, gave it as his opinion, that the deed, wanting some essential words,[k] could in law convey nothing; yet owned, that the omission of those words was plainly occasioned by the inattention of the clerk who engrossed the deed.[l] Some time afterward, Robert Car, better known by his subsequent title of earl of Somerset, attracted the favour of his majesty by those personal accomplishments, which, on this occasion, were so well calculated to insure him success. Young and fortuneless as he was, he was probably without much difficulty persuaded to take advantage of the flaw in Sir Walter's conveyance, and to solicit Sherborne of the king. It was on this occasion that Sir Walter addressed the following letter to Car, which in one or two old copies bears date December 1608.

SIR WALTER RALEGH TO CAR, AFTERWARD EARL OF SOMERSET.

'SIR—After some great losses and many years sorrows, (of both which I have cause to fear I was

[k] Carew Ralegh writes, *for want of one single word, which word was found notwithstanding in the paper-book, and was only the oversight of a clerk.*—See Appendix, N°. XIII.

[l] Birch's Collections in Brit. Mus. 4160, cxx.

mistaken in the end), it is come to my knowledge, that yourself, whom I know not but by an honourable fame, hath been persuaded to give me and mine our last fatal blow, by obtaining from his majesty the inheritance of my children and nephews, lost in the law for want of a word. This done, there remaineth nothing with me but the name of life, despoiled of all else but the title and sorrow thereof. His majesty, whom I never offended, (for I hold it unnatural and unmanlike to hate goodness), stayed me at the grave's brink; not, as I hope, that he thought me worthy of many deaths, and to behold all mine cast out of the world with myself, but as a king, who, judging the poor in truth, hath received a promise from God that his throne shall be established for ever.

And for yourself, Sir, seeing your fair day is but now in the dawn, and mine drawn to the evening, your own virtues and the king's grace assuring you of many favours and much honour, I beseech you not to begin your first building upon the ruins of the innocent; and that their sorrows, with mine, may not attend your first plantation. I have been ever bound to your nation, as well for many other graces, as for the true report of my trial to the king's majesty: against whom, had I been found malignant, the hearing of my cause would not have changed enemies into friends, malice into compassion, and the minds of the greatest number then present into the commiseration of mine estate. It is not the nature

of foul treason to beget such fair passions. Neither could it agree with the duty and love of faithful subjects, especially of your nation, to bewail his overthrow who had conspired against their most natural and liberal lord. I therefore trust, Sir, that you will not be the first that shall kill us outright, cut down the tree with the fruit, and undergo the curse of them that enter the fields of the fatherless. Which, if it please you to know the truth, is far less in value than in fame. But that so worthy a gentleman as yourself will rather bind us to you (being, Sir, gentlemen not base in birth and alliance who have interest therein), and myself, with my uttermost thankfulness, will ever remain ready to obey your commands.

WALTER RALEGH.'[m]

This letter appears, however, to have had no effect upon Car; and the solicitations of Lady Ralegh on her knees, with her children, to the king, were only answered by *I mun have the land, I mun have it for Car.* An information was exhibited in the exchequer by the attorney-general, and judgment was given for the crown. Sherborne, with the manors belonging to it, and other lands which Sir

[m] Harleian and other collections, and Birch's Works of Ralegh, II, 386. This letter has, in general, been very corruptly printed.—See Tenison's Baconiana, 8vo, 1679, p. 77. A more correct copy has been attempted here from several old manuscripts.

Walter had purchased,[n] were all granted to Car in 1609;[o] and the king's slender requital of £8000 to Lady Ralegh and her elder son, probably took place at the same time.[p] 1609.

The advantages of a cultivated understanding have, perhaps, seldom been more truly recognised, than they were at this time by Sir Walter Ralegh, in alleviating confinement and supporting this endless adversity of fortune. The disposition he made of his time, discovered on this, no less than on other occasions, the superiority of his mind; for, in the calm cultivation of his intellectual talents, he found the resource of all others best adapted to relieve his situation, and which a superior mind could alone advert to. His History of the world, and many of his political pieces (which we shall have occasion to dwell upon more at large when we come to the subject of his writings[q]) were composed in the Tower. We may conclude also, from one of Sir William Wade's letters already quoted, that much of his time

[n] Called Pinford, Primesly, Barton, and its manor.

[o] See Appendix, No. XIII, and the case of Carew Ralegh, esquire, at the committee for sale of delinquents estates, a MS. in several collections. (See Oldys' Life of Ralegh, p. 147, note c.)

[p] See Sir Walter's Apology for his last voyage to Guiana, in the next chapter. King James in his Declaration (see Appendix) calls these £8,000 *a competent satisfaction* for Sherborne, though it was afterward valued by the state at £5,000 *per annum*.

[q] See chapter x.

was amused in chemical and medical pursuits; for which he appears to have had a strong partiality.[r] The celebrated cordial which he prepared, which was in so high repute in the time of Charles II, and on which a distinct treatise was written in that reign,[s] probably owed its origin to these hours.

[r] A manuscript of chemical processes by Sir Walter is still in existence. See Ayscough's Catalogue of Brit. Museum, p. 492.

[s] Charles II commanded Nicholas Le Febure, royal professor of chemistry, and apothecary in ordinary to his majesty's household, to prepare a quantity of this *precious remedy* in the exactest manner. Le Febure also composed a treatise in French under his majesty's auspices, intituled, 'Discours sur le Grand Cordial de Sir Walter Ralegh,' published in 8vo, 1665, and previously translated into English, and published by Peter Belon, 12mo, 1664. In the Appendix (No. XV.) the reader will find the recipe as given by Le Febure, and the ingredients introduced by Sir Kenelm Digby, and Sir Alexander Fraiser, are printed in italic by way of distinction. It is supposed, indeed, that more liberties have been taken with Sir Walter's original prescription, which, for want of a perfect copy of it in the MS. of his chemical processes, in the British Museum, we are unable to detect. The recipe, as simplified in the London Pharmacopœia, under the title *Aromatic confection*, is here subjoined.

℞. Zedoary in coarse powder, and saffron, each ½ lb.
distilled water, - - - - 3 pints.

Macerate for 24 hours, then press and strain. Reduce the strained liquor by evaporation to 1¼ pint, to which add the following, rubbed to a very fine powder,

| | |
|---|---|
| Compound-powder of crabs-claws, - | 16 oz. |
| Cinnamon and nutmegs, each, - - | 2 |
| Cloves, - - - - | 1 |
| Smaller cardamom seeds, husked, - - | ½ |
| Double refined-sugar, - - - | 2 lb. |

make a confection.

Among his friends and pitiers in this his adverse fortune, were the queen and the celebrated Henry prince of Wales. An anecdote has been preserved relative to her Majesty and Ralegh, by Sir Anthony Welden, which I here repeat upon his authority, and in his own words.

'Queen Ann, that brave princess, was in a desperate, and some believed an incurable, disease, whereof the physicians were at the farthest end of their studies to find the cause, at a *nonplus* for the cure. Sir Walter Ralegh, being by his long studies an admirable chemist, undertook and performed the cure; for which he would receive no other reward, but that her majesty would procure that certain lords might be sent to examine Cobham, whether he had accused Sir Walter Ralegh of treason at any time under his hand. The king, at the queen's request, and in justice could do no less, sends six lords (which I take were the duke of Lenox, Salisbury, Worcester, Suffolk, Sir George Carew, and Sir Julius Cæsar) to demand of Cobham, whether he had not, under his hand, accused Sir Walter Ralegh at Winchester, upon that treason he was arraigned for. Cobham did protest *never, nor could he; but*, said he, *that villain Wade did often solicit me, and not prevailing that way, got me, by a trick, to write my name upon a piece of white paper, which I, thinking nothing, did. So that, if any charge came under my hand, it was forged by that villain Wade, by writing something above my hand without my con-*

*sent or knowledge.* These six returning to the king, the rest made Salisbury their spokesman, who said, *Sir, my Lord Cobham hath made good all that ever he wrote or said.* Where it is to be noted, that this was but an equivocating trick in Salisbury. For it was true that Cobham had made good *whatever he had writ* (that being but in truth to very nothing)—but never wrote he any thing to accuse Ralegh. By which you may see the baseness of these lords, the credulity of the king, and the ruin of Sir Walter Ralegh."[t]

An attachment of peculiar strength, heightened probably by a strong and mutual sense of peculiar merit, appears to have subsisted between Prince Henry and Ralegh. *No king but my father would keep such a bird in a cage,*[u] was a saying of that glory of the Stuarts, the darling of the nation while he lived, the just object of her sincere and universal lamentation by his untimely death.

1611. In the spring of 1611, a double alliance with this crown was proposed by the duke of Savoy's ambassador, between Prince Henry and the eldest daughter of Savoy; and between the prince of Pied-

[t] See the Court and Character of King James, 2d edition, 12mo, 1651, p. 35; and a confirmation in the Observations on Mary and James, 4to, 1656, p. 12. The author of Aulicus Coquinariæ, makes an absurd reply to this passage by writing, *How could Wade tamper with Cobham to write his name to a blank?—when it appears Cobham never signed at all to his examinations,* p. 90.

[u] Osborn's Misc. works, II, 165, and Coke's Detection, p. 37.

mont and our Princess Elizabeth, afterward espoused by Frederic, elector-palatine. On this occasion Sir Walter Ralegh wrote two excellent discourses,[x] apparently by command of Prince Henry,[y] wherein he strongly opposes the proposal. He also dedicated to his highness some Observations on the Royal navy and Sea service;[z] which appears thus early in his life to have been a favourite subject with that discerning prince, and on which he probably loved to converse and correspond with a person of the knight's experience. A letter which Sir Walter wrote him *touching the model of a ship* is still extant, and is printed in the appendix (N°. XVI) as a specimen of the ideas of that day on the art of ship-building. The following letter from Ralegh to the prince, on a more popular subject, is inserted in this place upon the authority of Sir Richard Steele, who has left us in the dark as to the occasion on which it was written, remarking only that it makes the prince aware of the weakness to which he was most addicted, at the same time that it applauds the good part of his disposition.

SIR WALTER RALEGH TO PRINCE HENRY.

'*May it please your Highness,*

'The following sheets are addressed to your highness, from a man who values his liberty and a

[x] See them in Dr. Birch's Works of Ralegh, i, 249, 265.

[y] See the beginning of the Discourse touching a match between the Princess Elizabeth and the prince of Piedmont.

[z] See them in Dr. Birch's Works of Ralegh, ii, 91.

very small fortune, in a remote part of this island, under the present constitution, above all the riches and honours that he could anywhere enjoy under any other establishment. You see, Sir, the doctrines that are lately come into the world, and how far the phrase has obtained of calling your royal father God's vicegerent; which ill men have turned both to the dishonour of God, and the impeachment of his majesty's goodness. They adjoin the vicegerency to the idea of being all-powerful, and not to that of being all-good. His majesty's wisdom, it is to be hoped, will save him from the snare that may lie under gross adulations; but your youth, and the thirst of praise which I have observed in you, may possibly mislead you to hearken to these charmers, who would conduct your noble nature into tyranny. Be careful, O my prince, hear them not, fly from their deceits. You are in the succession to a throne from whence no evil can be imputed to you, but all good must be conveyed by you. Your father is called the vicegerent of heaven. While he is good, he *is* the vicegerent of heaven. Shall man have authority from the fountain of good to do evil? No, my prince, let mean and degenerate spirits which want benevolence, suppose their power impaired by a disability of doing injuries. If want of power to do ill be an incapacity in a prince, with reverence be it spoken, it is an incapacity he has in common with the Deity.

Let me not doubt, but all plans which do not

carry in them the mutual happiness of prince and people, will appear as absurd to your great understanding, as disagreeable to your noble nature.

Exert yourself, O generous prince, against such sycophants in the glorious cause of liberty; and assume an ambition worthy of you, to secure your fellow-creatures from slavery; from a condition as much below that of brutes, as to act without reason is less miserable than to act against it. Preserve to your future subjects the divine right of being free-agents, and to your own royal house the divine right of being their benefactors. Believe me, my prince, there is no other right can flow from God. While your highness is forming yourself for a throne, consider the laws as so many common-places in your study of the science of government. When you mean nothing but justice, they are an ease and help to you. This way of thinking, is what gave men the glorious appellatives of deliverers and fathers of their country. This made the sight of them rouse their beholders into acclamations, and made mankind incapable of bearing their very appearance without applauding it as a benefit. Consider the inexpressible advantages which will ever attend your highness, while you make the power of rendering men happy the measure of your actions. While this is your impulse, how easily will that power be extended! The glance of your eye will give gladness, and your every sentence have the force of a bounty. Whatever some men would insinuate, you have lost your

subject when you have lost his inclination; you are to preside over the minds, not the bodies, of men. The soul is the essence of a man; and you cannot have the true man against his inclination. Choose, therefore, to be the king or the conqueror of your people; it may be submission, but it cannot be obedience, that is passive. I am, Sir,

Your highnesses' most faithful servant,

WALTER RALEGH."[a]

*London, August* 12, 1611.

Prince Henry, it appears, had for some time warmly solicited the Sherborne estate of his father, as if for himself; but with no other intention than that of restoring it to him whom he esteemed its just owner. His royal highness at last prevailed, and the king is said to have given Car £25,000 as a recompence. The prince's death, however, very
1612. shortly afterward, on the 6th of November 1612, prevented the accomplishment of his noble design, and Sherborne was restored to Car.[b]

The following anecdote relative to the prince's last illness, is inserted here on the authority, and in the words of Dr. Welwood.

*He* (Ralegh) *had, during his imprisonment, made*

[a] See Steele's Englishman, a sequel to the Guardian 12mo, 1714, p. 9. I am not, however, so well convinced as Sir Richard seems to have been, that this letter is justly ascribed to Ralegh.

[b] See Appendix, N°. XIII.

*applications to Prince Henry, who contracted a particular esteem for him, kept a constant correspondence with him by letters and messages, and had again and again solicited the king for his liberty. When the prince fell into his last illness, the queen sent to Sir Walter Ralegh for some of his cordial, which she herself had taken in a fever some time before with remarkable success. Ralegh sent it, together with a letter to the queen, wherein he expressed a tender concern for the prince; and, boasting of his medicine, stumbled unluckily upon an expression to this purpose,* that it would certainly cure him, or any other, of a fever, except in case of poison. *The prince dying, though he took it, the queen, in the agony of her grief, shewed Ralegh's letter, and laid so much weight on the expression about poison, that to her dying day she could never be dissuaded from the opinion, that her beloved son had had foul play done him.*[c]

Thus, in the 19th year of his age, were the fond

[c] See Dr. Welwood's Notes on Wilson's Hist. of King James, in the Complete History of England, fol. 1719, II. 714. Dr. Birch, in his Life of Prince Henry, informs us that it was the subject of some deliberation, whether Ralegh's medicine should be administered—but that after having been tasted and proved, it was, with the leave and advice of the lords of the council there present, given to the prince. Like the former medicines, however, it was vain, except that, forcing the spark of life still remaining, it threw him into a perspiration, (p. 357.) It is ridiculous enough, that whatever medicine has been prescribed by Sir Walter, has always been called *his cordial.*

hopes of the nation, in this excellent and amiable prince, on a sudden cut short. To Sir Walter we may consider his loss of the widest extent imaginable; as well from the real esteem which the knight has manifested for his character, as from the future prospects which the prince's patronage afforded him. The two following passages in Sir Walter's History of the World, may convey some idea of his feelings on the occasion.

*Of the art of war by sea, I had written a treatise for the Lord Henry prince of Wales; a subject, to my knowledge, never handled by any man ancient or modern. But God hath spared me the labour of finishing it by his loss; by the loss of that brave prince, of which, like an eclipse of the sun, we shall find the effects hereafter.*[d] *Impossible it is, to equal words and sorrows; I will therefore leave him in the hands of God that hath him*—curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent. (Lib. v, c. i, § 6.)

*Lastly, whereas this book, by the title it hath, calls itself the First part of the General History of the World, implying a second and third volume, which I also intended, and have hewn out; beside many other discouragements persuading my silence, it hath pleased God to take that glorious prince out of the world to whom they were directed. Whose unspeakable, and never-enough lamented loss, hath taught me to say with Job*, versa est in luctum cithera mea, et organum meum in vocem flentium. *(Conclusion.)*

[d] How true was this prediction!

The death of Cecil, which happened six months earlier than that of the prince, had probably given rise in Sir Walter to new hopes of regaining his freedom, which would naturally be materially discouraged by the latter event. Yet, although his remaining influence was insufficient to procure his release till after the disgrace of Car (now earl of Somerset) for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, he had, in 1614, the liberty of the Tower allowed him. 1614.
That year had however previously been embittered to him by his son Walter being obliged to fly the kingdom, on account of a duel in which he had been engaged with a Mr. Tyrwhit, a dependent of the lord high treasurer.[e] It is also to be distinguished for the first publication of Sir Walter's History of the World.[f]

Money, the most powerful agent on these occasions, at last effected what the strongest patronage could not accomplish. Car had now paid the penalty of his crimes, and Villiers was the rising favourite. £1500 presented to Sir William St. John, and Sir Edward Villiers, procured their influence with the nephew of the latter, and the king's consent to the enlargement of Sir Walter.[g] The following letter has been preserved, written by the knight to the favourite on the day of his release.

[e] Birch's Life of Ralegh, p. 65.
[f] Camden's Annals of King James.
[g] Observations on Saunderson's History, p. 10.

SIR WALTER RALEGH TO VILLIERS, AFTERWARD DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

'SIR—You have, by your mediation, put me again into the world. I can but acknowledge it; for, to pay any part of your favour by any service of mine, as yet it is not in my power. If it succeed well, a good part of the honour shall be yours; and if I do not also make it profitable unto you, I shall shew myself exceeding ungrateful. In the meanwhile, and till God discover the success, I beseech you to reckon me among the number of your faithful servants, though the least able.

W. RALEGH.'[h]

Thus did Sir Walter, on the 17th of March[i] 1615-16, after a cruel imprisonment of more than 12 years duration, obtain at last his freedom, by bribery and a change of favourites. In regard to his fellow-sufferers—Lord Grey died in the Tower in 1614;[k] and Lord Cobham survived Sir Walter about three months, dying, as Camden informs us, *miserable and poor*.[l]

1616.

[h] Copied by Oldys from the original in the library of James West, esquire.—See his Life of Ralegh, p. 192.

[i] Birch's Life of Ralegh, p. 65. Camden, in his Annals of King James, fixes the date three days later.

[k] Dugdale's Baronage.

[l] Ann. K. James, 1619. In Ralegh's Prerogative of Parliaments, is a curious passage relative to Cobham's property, and Cecil's *management* in general of the crown-revenues. See Dr. Birch's Works of Ralegh, I, 200.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Anecdote....Sir Walter's correspondence with Guiana. His letter to Winwood....He prepares for a new voyage....Spanish politics....Gondomar....His practices....Buckingham's letter....Ralegh is offered a pardon....Dissuaded by Bacon....His fleet for Guiana....Fourth voyage thither....His letter thence to his wife....The death of his son Walter....He finds himself betrayed....His letters to Winwood and his wife from St. Christophers....His apology for the voyage, and address to Lord Carew.*

WHEN Ralegh saw Somerset brought to the tower, and himself released, he is reported to have said, *the whole history of the world had not the like precedent, of a king's prisoner to purchase freedom, and his bosom favourite to have the halter, except in scripture, in the case of Mordecai and Haman.* Upon hearing which, we are told the king replied, *Ralegh might die in that deceit*;[a] which we shall find proved too true, for Somerset was pardoned and Ralegh executed.

Under every difficulty of persecution and imprisonment, Guiana still strongly prevailed in the

[a] Saunderson's History of King James, &c.

mind of Sir Walter. The intermediate voyages of Messrs. Leigh and Harcourt, the former in 1604, the latter in 1609, had contributed little to the progress of the enterprise; while the royal concurrence which they obtained, proved that King James was well satisfied as to the claims he had in that country. At least every second year during his imprisonment, Sir Walter was at the charge of sending thither, to keep up the hopes of relief against the new encroachments and cruelties of the Spaniards;[b] and some years previously to his release, he had proposed an expedition to Guiana if he could obtain his freedom. The death of Cecil, and the subsequent advancement of Sir Ralph Winwood, no friend to the Spanish interest, as secretary of state, improved probably his hopes of success. The following letter, addressed to Sir Ralph by Ralegh on the occasion, bears date in a copy of it in the Harleian Collection, July 1615.[c]

SIR WALTER RALEGH TO SECRETARY WINWOOD.

'HONOURED SIR—I was lately persuaded by two gentlemen, my ancient friends, to acquaint your honour with some offers of mine, made heretofore for a journey to Guiana; who were of opi-

[b] See his Apology in this chapter.

[c] N°. XXXIX, Sec. 41, p. 342. See also Dr. Birch's Works of Ralegh, 11, p. 362.

nion, that it would be better understood now, than when it was first propounded. Which advice having surmounted my despair, I have presumed to send unto your honour the copies of those letters which I then wrote, both to his majesty and to the treasurer Cecil. Wherein, as well the reasons that first moved me are remembered, as the objections by him made are briefly answered.

What I know of the riches of that place, not by hearsay, but what mine eyes have seen, I have said it often. But it was then to no end, because those that had the greatest trust were resolved not to believe it. Not because they doubted the truth, but because they doubted my disposition toward themselves, where, if God had blessed me in the enterprise, I had recovered his majesty's favour and good opinion. Other cause than this, or other suspicion, they never had any.

Our late worthy prince of Wales was extreme curious in searching out the nature of my offences. The queen's majesty hath informed herself from the beginning. The king of Denmark, at both times of his being here, was thoroughly satisfied of my innocency. They would otherwise never have moved his majesty on my behalf.

The wife, the brother, and the son of a king, do not use to sue for men suspect. But, Sir, since they all have done it out of their charity, and but with references to me alone, your honour, whose respect hath only relation to his majesty's service,

and strengthened by the example of those princes, may, with the more hardiness o the like; being princes to whom his majesty's good estate is no less dear, and all men that shall oppugn it no less hateful, than to the king himself.

It is true, Sir, that his majesty hath sometimes answered, that his council knew me better than he did; meaning some two or three of them. And it was indeed my infelicity. For, had his majesty known me, I had never been here where I now am; or, had I known his majesty, they had never been so long there where they now are. His majesty not knowing of me, hath been my ruin; and his majesty misknowing of them, hath been the ruin of a goodly part of his estate. But they are all of them now, some living and some dying, come to his majesty's knowledge. But, Sir, how littlesoever his majesty knew me, and how muchsoever he believed them, yet have I been bound to his majesty, both for my life and all that remains; of which, but for his majesty, nor life nor aught else had remained. In this respect, Sir, I am bound to yield up the same life, and all I have, for his majesty's service. To die for the king, and not by the king, is all the ambition I have in the world.

WALTER RALEGH.'

His freedom obtained, Sir Walter, without delay, made preparations for a new voyage to Guiana. The £8,000 given by the king against Sher-

borne, and which had been lent to the countess of Bedford, were now called in for this purpose. Lady Ralegh's consent was obtained for selling an estate belonging to her at Mitcham, in Surry, which produced £2,500.[d] Co-adventurers in the undertaking were solicited and obtained, among which were some foreigners;[e] and a commission, through the influence of Sir Ralph Winwood[f] procured from the king, bearing date August the 26th 1616.[g]

A due attention to the history of this reign will convince us, that among other foreign powers the court of Spain well understood the character of James. On his weak opinion, that any alliance below that of a great king was unworthy of a prince of Wales, that court had already founded the hope of governing him in points of the utmost importance; and in the lifetime of Prince Henry, with the view of holding James in neutrality as to the succession of Cleves, some hints had been dropped of bestowing on that prince the eldest daughter of Spain, afterward espoused by Lewis XIII.

Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, (better known by his subsequent title of count de Gondomar), at this time the Spanish ambassador in England, was

[d] Observations on Saunderson's Hist. p. 11, and Ralegh's Apology. In Sir Toby Matthews' Collection of Letters (p. 66,) is one from Ralegh to a nobleman, which, perhaps, relates to this sale.

[e] See Oldys' Life of Ralegh, p. 193.

[f] See King James' Declaration, Appendix, N°. XXI.

[g] See the Commission in the above Declaration.

a man who, under the appearance of frankness and pleasantry, disguised the most dangerous politics.[h] He soon became acquainted with the disposition of James, and failed not to exact the severest contributions from his weakness. Among these sacrifices, perhaps no one appears more remarkable to posterity than the life of Sir Walter Ralegh.

The knight's American voyages in the former reign, had been looked upon by Spain with too jealous an eye to leave Gondomar unemployed at this time, when Sir Walter was preparing a new expedition. Accordingly we find him complaining to King James of the knight's intention, as hostile and piratical to Philip his master;[i] holding the king in a state of severe circumspection as to his proceedings, and drawing from his weakness every particular of the voyage. How far the following letter, from the new favourite to Sir Ralph Winwood, confirms the latter supposition, the reader may decide for himself.

THE EARL OF BUCKINGHAM TO SECRETARY WINWOOD.

'SIR—I have acquainted his majesty with your letter, and that which came inclosed from Sir Henry Wotton, of whose opinion his majesty is, touching the advertisement given therein; that this discovery is

[h] Hume's England.

[i] See King James' Declaration.

like to unite the duke and the Venetian closer together, and bring on better conditions for a peace with Spain. His majesty perceiveth, by a letter he hath received from the Spanish ambassador, that you have not been yet with him, to acquaint him with the order taken by his majesty about Sir Walter Ralegh's voyage. And, therefore, would have you go to him as soon as you can possible, to relate unto him particularly his majesty's care of that business, and the course he hath taken therein. And so I rest,

Your very loving friend,

BUCKINGHAM.'[k]

*Lincoln, March* 28, 1617.

Although released from confinement, Sir Walter had not obtained a pardon; and appears to have been the less solicitous in this particular, owing to the commission which he had received from the king. The writer of the Observations on Sanderson's History, informs us, (p. 10) that Sir Walter's former friends, Sir William St. John, and Sir Edward Villiers, offered him, for £700, *not only his full pardon, but liberty not to go his voyage, if he pleased;* both which he refused. For in a convers-

[k] Hardwicke State papers, N°. 25. Dr. Birch remarks, though this letter does not inform us what Winwood was to deliver to Gondomar, it appears that the business was of such a kind that the honest secretary was not forward in transacting it. (Life of Ralegh, p. 72.)

ation with Sir Francis Bacon on the subject, the latter is said thus to have addressed the knight,—*Sir, the knee-timber of your voyage is money. Spare your purse in this particular, for upon my life, you have a sufficent pardon for all that is past, already; the king having, under his broad seal, made you admiral of your fleet, and given you power of the martial law over your officers and soldiers.*[1] This opinion, strengthened probably by his own, induced Sir Walter to proceed on his voyage, without a pardon in due form.

It was seven months after the date of the commission, before that part of the expedition which lay in the Thames, consisting of seven sail, was ready for sea. This force and the commanders were as follows.[m]

| | Tons. | Ordnance. |
|---|---|---|
| *Destiny*, Sir Walter Ralegh | 440 | 36 pieces. |
| *Jason*, John Pennington | 240 | 25 |
| *Encounter*, Edw. Hastings (afterward Whitney) | 160 | 17 |
| *Thunder*, Sir Warham Saintleger | 180 | 20 |
| *Flying Joan*, John Chidley | 120 | 14 |
| *Southampton*, John Bayly | 80 | 6 |
| *Page*, James Barker | 25 | 3 |

[1] Howell's Letters, 11th edit. 8vo, 1754, p. 386. Carew Ralegh, (see the same letter) makes the price £1500; perhaps confounding this with Sir Walter's former bribe.

[m] Oldys refers to *the end* of a scarce tract, intituled, News of Sir Walter Ralegh, 4to, 1618, for this list, where, however, I do not find it in the copy which I possess of that tract.

Before the fleet left the English coast, it was joined by the following vessels less particularly described.

*Convertine*, Keymis.
*Confidence*, Wolaston.
*Flying Hart*, Sir John Ferne.
*Chudley*, ————
*A fly-boat*, Samuel King.
*Another*, Robert Smith.
*A carvel*, ————

The Destiny was built at Ralegh's own charge, and his son Walter accompanied him in her as captain. There were also on board of her 200 men, of which 80 were gentlemen volunteers and adventurers, many of them Sir Walter's relations; which number was afterward increased.[a]

On the 28th of March, 1617, the very date of Buckingham's letter, Sir Walter, with the former part of this fleet, dropped down the Thames.[b] In the May following he published his orders to the fleet at Plymouth, which will be found in the Appendix;[c] and it was late in June, or early in July, before the whole of his force joined company with him, and he was enabled to clear that port. Stress of weather obliged him again to put into Cork, and it was late in August before he could proceed. Early in September he made the Canaries, in Oc- 1617.

[a] Oldys as before, Ralegh's Apology, and Howell's Letters.
[b] Camden's Annals of James I.
[c] Number XVII.

tober the Cape de Verd islands, and in November the continent of South America;[d] suffering great distress upon the whole passage, which he thus described in a letter written to his wife on his arrival.

SIR WALTER TO LADY RALEGH.

'SWEET HEART—I can write unto you but with a weak hand, for I have suffered the most violent calenture for fifteen days, that ever man did and lived. But God, that gave me a strong heart in all my adversities, hath also now strengthened it in the hell-fire of heat.

'We have had two most grievous sicknesses in our ship, of which forty-two have died, and there are yet many sick. But having recovered the land of Guiana this 12th of November, I hope we shall recover them. We are yet 200 men, and the rest of our fleet are reasonable strong. Strong enough, I hope, to perform what we have undertaken, if the diligent care at London, to make our strength known to the Spanish king, by his ambassador, have not taught the Spanish king to fortify all the entrances against us. Howsoever, we must make the adventure; and, if we perish, it shall be no honour for England, nor gain for his majesty, to lose, among many other, 100 as valiant gentlemen as England hath in it.

[d] Ralegh's Apology, and his Journal of this Voyage in the Cotton library, Titus, B. VIII, 217.

'Of Captain Bayly's base coming from us at the Canaries, see a letter of Keymis' to Mr. Scony; and of the unnatural weather, storms, and rains, and winds. He hath, in the same letter, given a touch of the way, that hath ever been sailed in fourteen days, now hardly performed in forty days. God, I trust, will give us comfort in that which is to come.

'In my passage to the Canaries I stayed at Gomera, where I took water in peace, because the country durst not deny it me. I received there, of an English race, a present of oranges, lemons, quinces, and pomegranates, without which I could not have lived. Those I preserved in fresh sands, and I have of them yet, to my great refreshing.

'Your son had never so good health, having no distemper in all the heat under the line. All my servants have escaped, but Crab and my cook; yet all have had the sickness. Crofts and March and the rest are all well. Remember my service to my Lord Carew and Mr. Secretary Winwood. I write not to them; for I can write of nought but miseries. Yet, of men of sort, we have lost our serjeant-major, Captain Piggot, and his lieutenant, Captain Edward Hastings, (who would have died at home, for both his liver, spleen, and brains were rotten), my son's lieutenant, Payton, and my cousin, Mr. Hews, Mr. Mordant, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Hayward, Captain Jenning, the merchant Keymis of London, and the master surgeon, Mr. Refiner, Mr. Moor,

the governor of the Bermudas, our provost-marshal, William Steed, Lieutenant Vescie, but to mine inestimable grief, Hammon and Talbot. By the next I trust you shall hear better of us; in God's hands we were, and in him we trust.

'The bearer, Captain Alley, for his infirmity of his head, I have sent back.[e] An honest valiant man; he can deliver you all that is past. Commend me to my worthy friends at Lothbury, Sir John Leigh and Mr. Bower, (whose nephew, Knevit, is well), and to my cousin Blundel. And my most devoted and humble service to her majesty.

'To tell you that I might be here king of the Indians were a vanity. But my name hath still lived among them here. They feed me with fresh meat, and all that the country yields; all offer to obey me. Commend me to poor Carew, my son.

'*From Caliana, in Guiana, the 14th of November.*'[f]

[e] He returned by a Dutch vessel lying there, and arrived in England in January 1618. Camden, in his Annals of James, writes, *January 31, 1618, Peter Alley, sent back by Sir Walter Ralegh, signified that he was very sickly, and that several volunteers died of their sickness.* Alley appears also to have been the bearer of *News of Sir Walter Ralegh, with the true description of Guiana, as also a relation of the excellent government, and much hope of the prosperity of the voyage, sent from a gentleman of his fleet to a most especial friend of his in London, from the river of Caliana, on the coast of Guiana, Nov.* 17, 1617, which was printed in London, in a quarto pamphlet in 1618, with the initials R. M. at the end.

[f] Harleian and other Collections, and Dr. Birch's Works of Ralegh, II, 363.

The distresses described in this letter were, however, trifling, compared to what Ralegh had still to undergo in this fatal voyage; in which, beside the desertion he suffered, he lost his son Walter, found himself betrayed by his king, and drew upon himself the persecution of the Spanish ambassador. His feelings under these calamities will be best described in his own words. The remainder of the present chapter will therefore be devoted to his letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, and another to his wife, written from S^t. Christopher's, on his homeward passage; and lastly, to his Apology for the Voyage, written on his return to this country, with the appended address to Lord Carew, who was probably to present the Apology to his majesty. The repeated relations of the same circumstances which occur in these pieces, though perhaps tedious, will have the merit of strengthening the facts (so important in Sir Walter's history) to which they bear reference.

### SIR WALTER RALEGH TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD.

'SIR,—As I have not hitherto given you any account of our proceedings and passages toward the Indies, so I have no other subject to write of than of the greatest misfortunes that ever befel any man.

'For whereas, for the first, all those that navigate between Cape de Verd and America do pass it

between fifteen or twenty days at most, we found the wind so contrary, and (which are also contrary to nature) so many storms and rains, as we spent six weeks in the passage. By reason whereof, and that in so great heat we wanted water, (for at the isle Bravo, off Cape de Verd, we lost our anchors and cables and our water casks, being driven from the island with a hurricano), we were like all to have perished. Great sickness also fell among us, and carried away great numbers of our ablest men both for sea and land.

'The 11th of November we had sight of Guiana, and soon after came to anchor in five degrees at the river Caliana. There we staid till the 4th of December, landed our sick men, set up the barges and shallops, which were brought out of England, in quarters, washed our ships, and took in fresh water; being fed and cherished by the Indians of my old acquaintance, with a great deal of love and respect. Myself, being in the hands of death these six weeks, and was not able otherwise to move than as I was carried in a chair, gave order to five small ships to sail into Oroonoko, having Captain Keymis for their conductor toward the mines. And in those five ships, five companies of fifty, under the command of Captain Parker and Captain North, brethren to the Lord Mounteagle and the Lord North, valiant gentlemen, and of infinite patience for the labour, hunger, and heat, which they have endured. My son had the third company, Captain

Thornhurst of Kent the fourth company, Captain Chidley, by his lieutenant, the fifth. But, as my serjeant-major, Captain Piggot of the Low countries, died in the former miserable passage, so now my lieutenant Sir Warham Saintleger lay sick without hope of life, and the charge conferred on my nephew, George Ralegh; who had also served long with infinite commendations, but, by reason of my absence, and of Sir Warham's, was not so well obeyed as the enterprise required.

'As they passed up the river, the Spaniards began the war, and shot at us, both with their ordnance and muskets. Whereupon the companies were forced to charge them, and soon after beat them out of the town. In the assault, my son, more desirous of honour than safety, was slain; with whom, to say truth, all the respects of this world have taken end in me. And although these five captains had as weak companies as ever followed valiant leaders, yet were there among them some 20 or 30 valiant and adventrous gentlemen, and of singular courage. As, of my son's company, Mr. Knivet, Mr. Hammon, Mr. Langworth, Mr. John Pleasington; his officers, Sir John Heydon, Mr. Simon Leak, corporal of the field, Mr. Hammon, the elder brother, Mr. Nicholas of Buckingham, Mr. Roberts of Kent, Mr. Perin, Mr. Tresham, Mr. Mollineux, Mr. Winter and his brother, Mr. Wray, Mr. Miles Herbert, Mr. Bradshaw, Captain Hall, and others. Sir, I have set down the names of

these gentlemen, to the end that if his majesty shall have cause to use their service, it may please you to take notice of them for very sufficient gentlemen.

'The other five ships staid at Trinidado, having no other port capable of them near Guiana. The second ship was commanded by my vice-admiral Captain John Pennington, of whom, to do him right, I dare say he is one of the sufficientest gentlemen for the sea that England hath. The third by Sir Warham Saintleger, an exceeding valiant and worthy gentleman. The fourth by Sir John Ferne. The fifth by Captain Chidley of Devon.

'With these five ships I daily attended their armada of Spain; which, had they set upon us, our force divided, the one half in Oroonoko, 150 miles from us, we had not only been torn in pieces, but all those in the river had also perished, being of no force at all for the sea-fight. For we had resolved to have been burnt by their sides, had the armada arrived. But belike they staid for us at Margarita, by which they knew we must pass toward the Indies. For it pleased his majesty to value us at so little, as to command me, upon my allegiance, to set down under my hand the country, and the very river by which I was to enter it; to set down the number of my men, and burthen of my ships, and what ordnance every ship carried. Which being known to the Spanish ambassador, and by him sent to the king of Spain, a

dispatch was made, and letters sent from Madrid, before my departure out of the Thames. For his first letter, sent by a bark of advice, was dated March 19th 1617, at Madrid; which letter I have, here inclosed, sent to your honour. The rest I reserve, not knowing whether they may be intercepted or not. The second, by the king, dated May 2d, sent also by a colonel of Diego de Palameca, governor of Guiana, El Dorado, and Trinidado. The third by the bishop of Portorico, and delivered to Palameca, July 15th, at Trinidado. And the fourth was sent from the farmer and secretary of his customs in the Indies. At the same time, by that of the king's hand sent by the bishop, there was also a commission for the speedy levying of 300 soldiers and ten pieces of ordnance, to be sent from Portorico, for the defence of Guiana; 150 from Nuevo Regno de Granada, under the command of Anthony Musica; and the other 150 from Portorico, to be conducted by Captain Fran. Lavelio.

'Now, Sir, if all that have traded to the Indies since his majesty's time, knew that the Spaniards have flayed alive all the poor men which they have taken, being but merchantmen, what death and cruel torment shall we expect if they conquer us? Certainly they have hitherto failed grossly, we being set out thence as we were, and discovered both for number, time, and place.

'Lastly, to make an apology for not working the

mine. Although I know his majesty, whom I am to satisfy, expects not so much of my hands, myself having lost my son and my estate in the enterprise, yet it is true that the Spaniards took more care to defend the passage leading into it, than they did for the town; which by the king's instructions, they might easily do, the countries being *aspera et nemorosa*. But it is true, that when Captain Keymis found the river low, and that he could not approach the banks in most places near the mine by a mile; and when he found a descent, a volley of shot came from the woods upon the boat, and slew two rowers, and hurt six others, and shot a valiant gentleman (Captain Thornhurst, of which wound he languisheth to this day), he, to-wit Keymis, following his own advice, thought that it was in vain to discover the mine. For he gave me this for an excuse at his return, that the companies of English in the town of S^t. Thome were not able to defend it against the daily and nightly assaults of the Spaniards; that the passages of the mines were of thick and unpassable woods; and that, the mine being discovered, they had no men to work it; and therefore he did not discover it at all. For it is true, the Spaniards having two gold mines near the town, the one possessed by Pedro Roderigo de Parama, the second by Harmian Frontino, the third (of silver) by Francisco Fasardo, they all lie still for want of negroes to work them. For as the Indians cannot be constrained, by a law of Charles V, so the Spaniards will not, nor

can, endure the labour of these mines, whatsoever the braggadocio, the Spanish ambassador, saith; as I shall prove under the proprietor's hand, by the custom book, and the king's quinto, of which I received an ingot or two.

'I shall also make it appear to any prince or state that will undertake it, how easily those mines, and five or six more of them, may be possessed; and the most of them in those parts which never as yet have been attempted by any; nor any passage to them ever discovered by the English, French, or Dutch.

'But at Keymis' return from Oroonoko, when I rejected his counsel and his course, and told him that he had undone me, and wounded my credit with the king past recovery, he slew himself. For I told him, that seeing my son was slain, I cared not if I had lost an hundred more in opening of the mine, so my credit had been saved. For I protest before God, had not Captain Whitney (to whom I gave more countenance than to all the captains of my fleet) run from me at the Granadoes, and carried another ship with him of Captain Wolaston's, I would have left my body at S^t. Thome by my son's, or have brought with me, out of that or other mines, so much gold ore as should have satisfied the king I propounded no vain thing.

'What shall become of me I know not. I am unpardoned in England, and my poor estate consumed; and whether my prince will give me bread or

no I know not. I desire your honour to hold me in your good opinion, to remember my service to my lords of Arundel and Pembroke, to take some pity on my poor wife, to whom I dare not write, for renewing her sorrow for her son, and beseech you to give a copy of this to my Lord Carew; for to a broken mind, a sick body, and weak eyes, it is a torment to write many letters. I have found many things of importance for discovering the state and weakness of the Indies, which, if I live, I shall hereafter impart unto your honour, to whom I shall remain a faithful servant.

'WALTER RALEGH.

POSTSCRIPT.

'Since the death of Keymis, it is confessed by the serjeant-major, and others of his inward friends, that he told them that he could have brought them unto the mine within two hours march from the river side. But, because my son was slain, myself unpardoned, and not like to live, he had no reason to open the mine, either for the Spaniard or for the king. They answered, that the king, though I were not pardoned, had granted me my heart's desire under the great seal. He replied, that the grant to me was to a man *non ens* in the law, and therefore of no force.

'This discourse they had, which I knew not of till after his death. But, when I was resolved to write

unto your honour, he prayed me to join with him in excusing his not going to the mine. I answered him I would not do it. But, if himself could satisfy the king and state, that he had reason not to open it, I should be glad; but, for my part, I must avow that he knew it, and that he might without loss have done it. Other excuses I would not frame. He told me that he would wait on me presently and give me better satisfaction. But I was no sooner come from him into my cabin, but I heard a pistol go off over my head. And, sending to know who shot it, word was brought me that Keymis shot it out of his cabin window to cleanse it. And his boy going into his cabin, found him lying upon his bed with much blood by him, and, looking in his face, saw him dead. The pistol, being but little, did but crack his rib; but, turning him over, he found a long knife in his body all but the handle.

'Sir, I have sent into England with my cousin Herbert (a very valiant honest gentleman) divers unworthy persons, good for nothing neither by sea nor land. And, though it was at their own suit, yet I know they will wrong me in all that they can. I beseech your honour that the scum of men may not be believed of me, who have taken more pains and suffered more, than the meanest rascal in the ship. These being gone, I shall be able to keep the sea until the end of August, with some four reasonable good ships. Sir, wheresoever God shall permit me to arrive in any part of Europe, I will not

fail to let your honour know what we have done. Till then and ever, I remain,

'Your honour's servant,

'WALTER RALEGH.'

SIR WALTER TO LADY RALEGH.

'I was loath to write, because I know not how to comfort you; and, God knows, I never knew what sorrow meant till now. All that I can say to you is, that you must obey the will and providence of God; and remember that the queen's majesty bare the loss of Prince Henry with a magnanimous heart, and the lady Harrington of her only son. Comfort your heart, dearest Bess, I shall sorrow for us both. And I shall sorrow the less, because I have not long to sorrow, because not long to live.

'I refer you to Mr. Secretary Winwood's letter, who will give you a copy of it if you send for it. Therein you shall know what hath passed, which I have written by that letter; for my brains are broken, and it is a torment to me to write, especially of misery. I have desired Mr. Secretary to give my Lord Carew a copy of his letter. I have cleans-

[4] This letter in one of the old MS. copies of it, bears date St. Christopher's, March 21, 1617. See the Harleian, and other collections, and Dr. Birch's Works of Ralegh, II, 365, 374. The latter editor, following Ralegh's Remains, has improperly made a distinct letter of the postscript.

ed my ship of sick men and sent them home, and hope that God will send us somewhat before we return. Commend me to all at Lothbury. You shall hear from me, if I live, from Newfoundland; where I mean to clean my ships and revictual, for I have tobacco enough to pay for it. The Lord bless and comfort you, that you may bear patiently the death of your most valiant son!

'*This 22d of March, from the Isle of Christopher's.*

'Yours, WALTER RALEGH.

POSTSCRIPT.

'I protest before the majesty of God, that as Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Hawkins, died heart-broken when they failed of their enterprise, I could willingly do the like, did I not contend against sorrow for your sake, in hope to provide somewhat for you to comfor and relieve you. If I live to return, resolve yourself that it is the care for you that hath strengthened my heart.

'It is true that Keymis might have gone directly to the mine, and meant it. But after my son's death, he made them believe that he knew not the way, and excused himself upon the want of water in the river; and, counterfeiting many impediments, left it unfound. When he came back, I told him he had undone me, and that my credit was lost for ever. He answered, that when my son was lost, and that he left me so weak, that he thought not to find me alive, he had no reason to enrich a company

of rascals, who, after my son's death, made no account of him. He farther told me, that the English sent up into Guiana could hardly defend the Spanish town of S^t. Thome which they had taken; and, therefore, for them to pass through thick woods it was impossible, and more impossible to have victuals brought them into the mountains. And it is true, that the governor, Diego Palameca, and other four captains, being slain, whereof my son Wat slew one, Plessington (Wat's serjeant) and John of Moroccoes (one of his men) slew two; I say five of them slain in the entrance of the town, the rest went off in a whole body. And each took more care to defend the passages to their mines, of which they had three within a league of the town, beside a mine that was about five miles off, than they did of the town itself.

'Yet Keymis, at the first, was resolved to go to the mine. But, when he came to the bank side to land, he had two men of his slain out-right from the bank, and six others hurt; and Captain Thornhurst shot in the head, of which wound, and the accident thereof, he hath pined away these twelve weeks. Now, when Keymis came back and gave me the former reasons which moved him not to open the mine (the one, the death of my son; a second, the weakness of the English, and their impossibilities to work it, and to be victualled; a third, that it were a folly to discover it for the Spaniards; and, lastly, my weakness, and being unpardoned) and that I rejected all these his arguments, and told him, that I must leave him

to himself to answer it to the king and state, he shut himself into his cabin, and shot himself with a pocket-pistol, which broke one of his ribs; and, finding that he had not prevailed, he thrust a long knife under his short ribs, up to the handle, and died.

Thus much I have written to Mr. Secretary, to whose letters I refer you. But because I think my friends will rather hearken after you than any other to know the truth, I did, after the sealing, break open the letter again, to let you know in brief the state of that business; which I pray you impart to my lord of Northumberland, and Silvanus Scorie, and to Sir John Leigh.

For the rest, there was never poor man so exposed to the slaughter as I was. For, being commanded, upon my allegiance, to set down, not only the country, but the very river by which I was to enter it, to name my ships' number, men, and my artillery; this was sent by the Spanish ambassador to his master, the king of Spain. The king wrote his letters to all parts of the Indies, especially to the governor, Palameca, of Guiana, El Dorado, and Trinidado. Of which the first letter bore date March 19th 1617, at Madrid, when I had not yet left the Thames; which letter I have sent to Mr. Secretary. I have also two other letters of the king's, which I reserve, and one of the council's. The king also sent a commission to levy 300 soldiers out of his garrisons of Nuevo Regno de Granada, and Porto Rico, with ten pieces of brass ordnance to entertain

us. He also prepared an armada by sea to set upon us. It were too long to tell you how we were preserved; if I live I shall make it known. My brains are broken, and I cannot write much. I live yet, and I told you why.

Whitney, for whom I sold all my plate at Plymouth, and to whom I gave more credit and countenance than to all the captains of my fleet, ran from me at the Granadas, and Wolaston with him. So as I have now but five ships, and one of those I have sent home; and in my fly-boat a rabble of idle rascals, which I know will not spare to wound me, but I care not. I am sure there is never a base slave in all the fleet hath taken the pains and care that I have done; that hath slept so little and travailed so much. My friends will not believe them, and for the rest I care not. God in heaven bless you and strengthen your heart. Yours,

WALTER RALEGH.[h]

SIR WALTER RALEGH'S APOLOGY FOR HIS LAST VOYAGE TO GUIANA.

'If the ill success of this enterprise of mine had been without example, I should have needed a large discourse, and many arguments for my justification. But if the vain attempts of the greatest princes of Europe, both among themselves and against the

[h] The above Collections, and Birch's Works of Ralegh, II, 370.

great Turk, are, in all modern histories, left to every eye to peruse; it is not so strange that myself, being but a private man, and drawing after me the chains and fetters whereunto I have been thirteen years tied in the Tower, being unpardoned, and in disgrace with my sovereign lord, have, by other men's errors, failed in the attempt I undertook.

'For if that Charles V returned with unexampled loss (I will not say dishonour) from Algier in Africa; or if King Sebastian lost himself and his army in Barbary; if the invincible fleet and forces of Spain in eighty-eight were beaten home by the lord Charles Howard, admiral of England; if M. Strozzi, the Count Brizack, the Count Vinnoso, and others, with a fleet of fifty-eight sail, and 6000 soldiers, encountered with far less numbers, could not defend the Terceras (leaving to speak of a world of other attempts furnished by kings and princes); if Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Thomas Baskerville, men for their experience and valour as eminent as England had any, strengthened with divers of her majesty's ships, and filled with soldiers at will, could not possess themselves of the treasure they sought for, which in their view was embarked in certain frigates at Porto Rico, yet afterward they were repulsed with fifty negroes upon the mountains of Vasques Numius, or Tierra de Capira, in their passage toward Panama; if Sir John Norris (though not by any fault of his) failed in the attempt of Lisbon, and returned with the loss, by sickness and

otherwise, of 8000 men; what wonder is it but that mine (which is the last) being followed with a company of volunteers, who, for the most part, had neither seen the sea nor the wars, who, some forty gentlemen excepted, were the very scum of the world, drunkards, blasphemers, and such others as their fathers, brothers, and friends thought it an exceeding good gain to be discharged of them, with the hazard of some thirty, forty, or fifty pounds, knowing they could not have lived a whole year so cheap at home; I say, what wonder is it, if I have failed, where I could neither be present myself, nor had any of the commanders whom I most trusted living, or in state to supply my place?

'Now, whereas it was bruited, both before and since my departure out of England, and by the most men believed, that I meant nothing less than to go to Guiana; but that being once at liberty, and in mine own power, having made my way with some foreign prince, I would turn pirate, and utterly forsake my country; my being at Guiana, my returning into England unpardoned, and my not taking the spoil of the subjects of any christian prince, hath (I doubt not) destroyed that opinion.

'But this is not all. For it hath been given out by an hypocritical thief, who was the first master of my ship, and by an ungrateful youth who waited upon me in my cabin (though of honourable worthy parents) and by others, that I carried with me out of England, 22,000 pieces of 22 shillings the piece,

and therefore needed not, or cared not, to discover any mine in Guiana, nor make any other attempt elsewhere. Which report being carried secretly from one to another in my ship, and so spread through all the ships in the fleet, which staid with me at Trinidado, while our land forces were in Guiana, had like to have been my utter overthrow in a most miserable fashion. For it was consulted, when I had taken my barge, and gone ashore, (either to discover, or otherwise, as I often did), that my ship should have set sail and left me there; where either I must have suffered famine, been eaten with wild beasts, or have fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, and been flayed alive, as others of the English, which came thither but to trade only, had formerly been.

'To this report of riches, I make this protestation; that if it can be proved, either now or hereafter, that I had in the world, either in my keeping or in my power, either directly or indirectly, in trust or otherwise, above 100 pieces when I departed London, of which I had left 45 pieces with my wife, and 55 I carried with me, I acknowledge myself for a reprobate, a villain, a traitor to the king, and the most unworthy man that doth live, or ever hath lived, upon the earth. True it is, that those who sought all the bills from the scriveners, found £14,000 or £15,000 more adventured than mine own adventure came unto; but did not consider that I gave the bills of adventure for the other five

ships, or for the greatest part thereof; which amounted to £15,000 or £16,000, but I never received any penny of that money.

'Now, whereas the captains that left me in the Indies, and Captain Bayly, that ran away from me at Lancerota, have, to excuse themselves, objected for the first, that I lingered at Plymouth when I might have gone thence, and lost a fair wind and time of the year, or to that effect; it is strange that men of fashion and gentlemen should so grossly belie their own knowledge, that had not I lived nor returned to have made answer to this fiction, yet all that knew us in Plymouth, and all that we had to deal withal, knew the contrary. For after I had stayed at the isle of Wight divers days, the Thunder, commanded by Sir Warham Saintleger, by the negligence of her master, was at lee in the Thames; and after I arrived at Plymouth, Captain Pennington was not come then to the isle of Wight: and being arrived there, and not able to redeem his bread from the bakers, he rode back to London to entreat help from my wife to pay for it; who having not so much money to serve his turn, she wrote to Mr. Wood of Portsmouth, and gave him her word for £30, which she soon after paid him, without which, (as Pennington himself protested to my wife), he had not been able to have gone the journey.

'Sir John Ferne I found there without all hope of being able to proceed, having neither men nor

money, and in great want of other provision; insomuch, as I furnished him, by my cousin Herbert, with £100, having supplied himself in Wales with £100, before his coming to Plymouth; and procured him a third £100 from the worthy and honest dean of Exeter, Doctor Sutcliffe. Captain Whitney, whom I also staid for, had a third part of his victuals to provide, insomuch, as having no money to help him withal, I sold my plate in Plymouth to supply him. Bayly I left at the isle of Wight, whose arrival I also attended here some ten or twelve days, as I remember. And what should move Bayly to leave me as he did at the Canaries, from whence he might have departed with my love and leave, and at his return to do me all the wrong he could devise, I cannot conceive. He seemed to me from the beginning not to want any thing. He only desired of me some ordnance, and some iron-bound cask, and I gave it him. I never gave him ill language, nor offered him the least unkindness to my knowledge. It is true that I refused him a French shallop, which he took in the bay of Portugal, outward bound; and yet after I had bought her of the French, and paid fifty crowns ready money for her, if Bayly had then desired her, he might have had her. But to take any thing from the French, or from any other nation, I meant it not.

'True it is, that as many things succeed both against reason and our best endeavours, so it is most

commonly true, that men are the cause of their own misery, as I was of mine, when I undertook my late enterprise without a pardon. For all my company having heard it avowed in England before they went, that the commission I had, was granted to a man who was *non ens* in law; so that the want thereof took from me both arms and actions; it gave boldness to every petty companion to spread rumours to my defamation and the wounding of my reputation, in all places where I could not be present to make them knaves and liars.

'It hath been secondly objected, that I put into Ireland, and spent much time there, taking care to revictual myself and none of the rest. Certainly I had no purpose to see Ireland when I left Plymouth. But being encountered with a strong storm some eight leagues to the westward of Scilly, (in which Captain Chidley's pinnace was sunk, and Captain King thrust into Bristol), I held it the office of a commander of many ships, and those of divers sailings and conditions, (of which some could hull and try, and some of them beat it up upon a tack, and others neither able to do the one nor the other), rather to take a port, and keep his fleet together, than either to endanger the loss of masts and yards, or to have it severed far asunder and to be thrust into divers places. For the attendance of meeting them again at the next rendezvous, would consume more time and victual, (and perchance the weak ships might be set upon, taken, or disordered),

than could be spent by recovering a harbour, and attending the next change of wind.

'That the dis-severing of fleets hath been the overthrow of many actions, I could give many examples, were it not in every man's knowledge. In the last enterprise of worth undertaken by our English nation, with three squadrons of ships, commanded by the earl of Essex, the earl of Suffolk, and myself, where was also present the earl of Southampton, if we, being storm-beaten in the bay of Alcashar, or Biscay, had had a port under our lee, that we might have kept our transporting ships with our men of war, we had in all likelihood both taken the Indian fleet and the Azores.

'That we staid long in Ireland it is true, but they must accuse the clouds, and not me, for our stay there, for I lost not a day of a good wind. There was not any captain of the fleet but had credit, or might have had, for a great deal of more victuals than we spent there, and yet they had of me fifty beeves among them, and somewhat else.

'For the third accusation, that I landed in hostile manner at Lancerota; certainly Captain Bayly had great want of matter when he gave that for an excuse of his turning back. For I refer myself to Mr. Barney, who I know will ever justify a truth, to whom, (when he came to me from Captain Bayly to know whether he should land his men with the rest), I made this answer, that he might land them if it pleased him, or otherwise keep them aboard;

for I had agreed with the governor for a proportion of victual, which I hourly expected. And it is true, that the governor, being desirous to speak with me with one gentleman with him, with their rapiers only (which I accepting, and taking with me Lieutenant Bradshaw) we agreed, that I should send up an English factor (whose ship did then ride in the road) and that whatsoever the island could yield, should be delivered at a reasonable rate.

'I sent the English factor according to our agreement, but the governor put it off from one morning to another, and in the end sent me word, that except I would embark my men which lay on the sea side, the islanders were so jealous as they durst not sever themselves to make our provisions. I did so; but when the one half were gotten aboard, two of our sentinels were forced, one slain, and the English factor sent to tell me that he had nothing for us, whom he still believed to be a fleet of the Turks, who had lately taken and destroyed Puerto Sancto. Hereupon all the companies would have marched toward the town and have sacked it; but I knew it would not only dislike his majesty, but that our merchants having a continual trade with those islands, that their goods would have been stayed, and among the rest, the poor Englishman riding in the road, having all that he brought thither ashore, would have been utterly undone.

'Hereof I complained to the governor of the

Grand Canaries, whom I also desired that we might take water without any disturbance. But instead of answer, when we landed some 100 men, far from any habitation, and in a desert place of the island, where we found some fresh water, there ambush was laid, and one Fisher of Sir John Ferne's ship wounded to death. And more had been slain had not Captain Thornhurst, and Mr. Robert Hammon, my son's lieutenant, two exceeding valiant gentlemen, who first made head against them, seconded by Sir Warham Saintleger and my son, with half a dozen more, made forty of them run away.

'From hence, because there was scarcity of water, we sailed to Gomera, one of the strongest and best defenced places of all the islands, and the best port; the town being seated upon the very wash of the sea. At the first entrance of our ships, they shot at us, and ours at them. But as soon as I myself recovered the harbour and had commanded that there should be no more shooting, I sent a Spaniard ashore (taken in a bark which came from Cape Blanc) to tell the governor that I had no purpose to make war with any of the Spanish king's subjects, and if any harm were done by our great ordnance to the town, it was his fault, who by shooting first gave the occasion. He sent me for answer, that he thought we had been the Turkish fleet which destroyed Puerto Sancto; but being resolved by the messenger that we were Christians and English,

and sought nothing but water, he would willingly afford us as much as we pleased to take, if he might be assured that we would not attempt his town houses, nor destroy the gardens and fruits.

'I returned him answer, that I would give him my faith, and the word of the king of Great Britain, my sovereign lord, that the people of the town and island should not lose so much as one orange, or a grape, without paying for it. For if any man of mine should injure them, I would hang him up in the market street. Now that I kept my faith with him, and how much he held himself bound unto me, I have divers of his letters to shew, for he wrote unto me every day. And the countess being of an English race, (a Stafford by mother, and of the house of Horn by the father), sent me divers presents of fruits, sugar, and rusk; to whom I returned (because I would not depart in her debt) things of greater value. The old earl, at my departure, wrote a letter to the Spanish ambassador here in England, how I behaved myself in those islands. There I discharged a bark of the Grand Canaries, taken by one of my pinnaces coming from Cape Blanc in Africa; and demanding of him what prejudice he had received by being taken, he told me that my men had eaten of his fish to the value of six ducats, for which I gave him eight.

'From the Canaries, it is said, that I sailed to Cape de Verd, knowing it to be an infectious place, by reason whereof, I lost so many of my men ere

I recovered the Indies. The truth is, that I came no nearer to Cape de Verd than Bravo, which is 150 leagues off. But had I taken it in my way, falling upon the coast, or any other part of Guiana, after the rains there is as little danger of infection as in any other part of the world, as our English that trade in those parts every year do well know. There are few places in England, or in the world, near great rivers which run through low grounds, or near moorish or marsh grounds, but the people inhabiting near are at some time of the year subject to fevers. Witness Woolwich in Kent, and all down the river on both sides. Other infection there is not found either in the Indies or in Africa, except it be when the easterly wind or breezes are kept off by some high mountains from the vallies, whereby the air, wanting motion, doth become exceeding unhealthful, as at Nombre de Dios, and elsewhere.

'But as good success admits no examination, so the contrary allows of no excuse, how reasonable or just soever. Sir Francis Drake, Mr. John Winter, and John Thomas, when they passed the Streights of Magellan, met with a storm, which drove Winter back, which thurst John Thomas upon the islands to the south, where he was cast away, and drove Sir Francis near a small island upon which the Spaniards landed their thieves and murderers from Baldivia. And he found there Philip, an Indian, who told him where he was, and conducted him to Bal-

divia, where he took his first prize of treasure; and in that ship he found a pilot called John Grege, who guided him all that coast, in which he possessed himself of the rest. Which pilot, because he should not rob him of his reputation and knowledge in those parts (resisting the entreaties and tears of all his company), he set him ashore upon the island of Aegulus, that is, Alligator, to be by them devoured. After which, passing by the East-Indies, he returned into England; and, notwithstanding the peace between us and Spain, he enjoyed the riches he brought, and was never so much as called to an account for cutting off Doughty's head at Port S^t^. Julian, having neither martial law, nor other commission available. Mr. Cavendish having passed all the coasts of Chili and Peru, and not gotten a farthing, when he was without hope, and ready to shape his course by the east homeward, met a ship which came from the Philippines at California, a thousand pounds to a nut shell.

'These two, in these two voyages, were the children of fortune, and much honoured. But when Sir Francis Drake, in his last attempt, might have landed at Cruces, by the river of Chyagre, within eight miles of Panama, he, notwithstanding, set the troops on land at Nombre de Dios, and received the repulse aforesaid, and died for sorrow. The same success had Cavendish in his last passage toward the Streights. I say that one and the same end they both had, viz. Drake and Cavendish, when

chance had left them to the trial of their own virtues.

'For the rest, I leave to all worthy and indifferent men to judge, by what neglect or error of mine, the gold mine in Guiana, which I had formerly discovered, was not found and enjoyed. For after we had refreshed ourselves in Caliana (otherwise in the first discovery called Port Howard), where we buried Captain Hastings, Captain Piggot, and Captain Snedale, and there recovered the most part of our sick men, I did embark six companies, of fifty to each company, in five ships; viz. in the Encounter, commanded by Captain Whitney; in the Confidence, by Captain Wolaston; in two fly-boats of my own, commanded by Captain Samuel King, and Captain Robert Smith; and in a carvel. Which companies had for their leaders Captain Charles Parker, Captain North, my son, Captain Thornhurst, Captain Pennington's lieutenant (Bradshaw), and Captain Chidley's lieutenant (Prideux).

'At the Triangle island I embarked the companies for Oronoko, between which and Caliana I lay a-ground 24 hours; and if it had not been fair weather we had never come off the coast, having not above two fathom and a half of water. Eight leagues off from whence, I directed them for the river of Surinama, the best port of all that tract of land between the river Amazons and Oronoko. There I gave them order to trim their boats and barges; and, by the Indians of that place, to understand the

state of the Spaniards in Oronoko, and whether they had replanted or strengthened themselves upon the entrances, or elsewhere. And if they found no Indians there, to send in the little fly-boat or the carvel into the river of Dissebecke, where they should not fail to find pilots for Oronoko. For, with our great ships we durst not approach the coast, we having been all of us a-ground, and in danger of leaving our bones upon the shoals, before we recovered the Triangle island, as aforesaid. The biggest ship that could enter the river was the Encounter, who might be brought to eleven feet. The depth of the water upon the bar we could never understand, neither by Keymis, who was the first of any of our nation that had entered the main mouth of Oronoko, nor by any other of the masters or mariners of our fleet, which had traded there ten or twelve years for tobacco. For the Chudley, when she came near the entrance, drawing but twelve feet, found herself in danger, and bore up for Trinidado.

'Now, whereas some of my friends have been unsatisfied why I myself had not gone up with the companies I sent, I desire hereby to give them satisfaction. That, beside my want of health and strength (having not recovered my long and dangerous sickness, but was again fallen into a relapse), my ship shoaled and laid a-ground, at 17 feet water, seven leagues off the shore, so as the master nor any of my company durst adventure to come near it, much less to fall between the shoals on the south side of

the river's side, and sands on the north side, called Puncto Anegado, one of the most dangerous places in all the Indies. It was, therefore, resolved by us all, that the five greater ships should ride at Puncto Gallo in Trinidado, and the five lesser should enter the river. For if Whitney and Wolaston, at eleven feet, lay a-ground three days in passing up, in what case had I been who drew seventeen feet, a heavier ship, and charged with forty pieces of ordnance? Beside this impossibility, neither would my son, nor the rest of the captains and gentlemen, have adventured themselves up the river, (having but one month's victuals, and being thrust together 100 of them in a small fly-boat) had not I assured them that I would stay for them at Trinidado, and that no force should drive me thence, except I were sunk in the sea, or set on fire by the Spanish galleons. For that they would have adventured themselves upon any other man's word or resolution, it were ridiculous to believe.

'Having in this sort resolved upon our enterprise, and having given instructions, how they should proceed, before and after their entrance into Oronoko, Keymis having undertaken to discover the mine with six or eight persons in Sir John Ferne's shallop, I better bethinking myself, and misliking his determination, gave him this order, viz.

'KEYMIS—Whereas you were resolved, after your arrival into Oronoko, to pass to the mine with

my cousin Herbert, and six musketeers, and to that end you desired to have Sir John Ferne's shallop, I do not allow of that course, because you cannot land so secretly but that some Indians on the river side may discover you; who giving knowledge of your passage to the Spaniards, you may be cut off before you can recover your boat. I do, therefore, advise you to suffer the captains and the companies of the English to pass up to the westward of the mountain Aio, from whence you have no less than three miles to the mine; and to lodge and encamp between the Spanish town and you, if there be any town near it; that, being so secured, you may make trial what depth and breadth the mine holds, and whether or no it answer our hopes. And if you find it royal, and the Spaniards begin to war upon you, then let the serjeant-major repel them, if it be in his power, and drive them as far as he can. But if you find that the mine be not so rich as it may persuade the holding of it, and draw on a second supply, then shall you bring but a basket or two to satisfy his Majesty that my design was not imaginatory, but true, though not answerable to his Majesty's expectation for the quantity, of which I never gave assurance, nor could.

'On the other side, if you shall find that any number of soldiers be newly sent into Oronoko, as the cassique of Caliana told us that there were, and that the passages be already fenced; so that, without manifest peril of my son, yourself, and other captains,

you cannot pass toward the mine, then be well advised how you land. For I know (a few gentlemen excepted) what a scum of men you have; and I would not for all the world receive a blow from the Spaniard to the dishonour of our nation. I myself, for my weakness, cannot be present, neither will the company land except I stay with the ships, the galleons of Spain being daily expected. Piggot, the serjeant-major, is dead; Sir Warham, my lieutenant, without hope of life; and my nephew, your serjeant-major now, but a young man. It is, therefore, on your judgment that I rely, whom I trust God will direct for the best.

'Let me hear from you as soon as you can. You shall find me at Puncto Gallo, dead or alive; and if you find not my ships there, yet you shall find their ashes. For I will fire with the galleons if it come to extremity, but run away I will never.'

'That these my instructions were not followed, was not my fault. But it seems that the serjeant-major, Keymis, and the rest, were by accident forced to change their first resolution; and that, finding a Spanish town, or rather a village, set up twenty miles distant from the place where Antonio Berreo (the first governor by me taken in my first discovery), had attempted to plant, viz. some two leagues to the westward of the mine, they agreed to land and encamp between the mine and the town, which they did not suspect to be so near them as it

was. And, meaning to rest themselves on the river's side till the next day, they were in the night set upon and charged by the Spaniards; which being unlooked for, the common sort of them were so amazed, as, had not the captains, and some other valiant gentlemen, made a-head and encouraged the rest, they had all been broken and cut in pieces.

'To repel this force, putting themselves in order, they charged the Spaniards, and following them upon their retreat, they were ready to enter the town ere they knew where they were. And being then charged again by the governor, and four or five captains, which led their companies, my son not tarrying for any musketeers, ran up in the head of a company of pikes, where he was first shot; and pressing upon a Spanish captain, called Erinetta, with his sword, Erinetta, taking the small end of his musket in his hand, struck him on the head with the stock and felled him. Whom again John Plessington, my son's serjeant, thrust through with his halbert. At which time also the governor, Diego Palameca, and the rest of the Spanish captains, being slain, and their companies divided, they betook themselves into a house or hold adjoining to the market-place, whence, with their murderers and muskets (the houses having loop-holes cut out toward the market-place), they slew and wounded the English at their pleasure. So as they had no way to save themselves, but by firing those houses adjoining, which done, all the Spaniards ran into the

bordering woods and hills, keeping the English still waking with perpetual alarms.

'The town, such as it was, being in this sort possessed, Keymis prepared to discover the mine; which at this time he was resolved to do, as appeareth by his letter to me of his own hand-writing hereafter inserted. He took with him Captain Thornhurst, Mr. William Herbert, Sir John Hambden, and others. But at his first approach near the bank where he meant to land, he received from the wood a volley of shot, which slew two of his company, hurt six others, and wounded Captain Thornhurst in the head, of the which he languished three months after.

KEYMIS' LETTER,

*Dated January 8, from Orenoko.*

"All things that appertain to human condition, in that proper nature and sense which of fate and necessity belongeth unto them, being now over with your son, maketh me choose rather, with grief, to let you know from me the certain truth, than uncertainties from others. Which is, viz. that had not his extraordinary valour and forwardness (which, with constant vigour of mind, being in the hands of death, his last breath expressed in these words, *Lord have mercy upon me, and prosper your enterprise*), led them all on, when some began to pause and recoil shamefully, this action had neither been at-

tempted as it was, nor performed as it is, with this surviving honour.

" This Indian pilot whom I have sent, if there be occasion to use his service in any thing, will prove sufficient and trusty. Peter Andrews, whom I have sent with him, can better certify your lordship of the state of the town, the plenty, the condition of our men, &c. than I can write the same.

" We have the governor's servant prisoner, that waited on him in his bed-chamber, and knows all things that concerned his master. We find there are four refiners' houses in the town; the best houses of the town. I have not seen one piece of coin or bullion, neither gold or silver; a small deal of plate only excepted.

" Captain Whitney and Wolaston are but now come to us, and now I purpose (God willing) without delay to visit the mine, which is not eight miles from the town. Sooner I could not go, by reason of the murmurings, the discords, and vexations, wherewith the serjeant-major is perpetually tormented and tired, having no man to assist him but myself only. Things are now in some reasonable order, and so soon as I have made trial of the mine, I will seek to come to your lordship by the way of the river Macario; by which river I have appointed Peter Andrews to go and to search the channels, that if it be possible our ships may shorten the course for Trinidado, when time serves, by those passages. I have sent your lordship a parcel of

scattered papers (I reserve a cart-load), one roll of tobacco, one tortoise, and some oranges and lemons. Praying God to give you strength and health of body, and a mind armed against all extremities, I rest ever to be commanded, this 8th of January, 1617-18.

Your lordship's,

KEYMIS.'

'Now it seemeth that the death of my son, fearing also (as he told me when he came to Trinidado) that I was either dead of my first sickness, or that the news of my son's death would have hastened my end, made him resolve not to open the mine. To the which he added for excuse, (and I think it was true), that the Spaniards being gone off in a whole body, lay in the woods between the mine and their passage; and it was impossible, except they had been beaten out of the country, to pass up the woody and craggy hills, without the loss of those commanders which should have led them; who, had they been slain, the rest would easily enough have been cut in pieces in their retreat. For being in possession of the town, which they guarded with the greatest part of three companies, they had yet their hands full to defend themselves from firing, and the daily and nightly alarms wherewith they were vexed. He also gave for an excuse, that it was impossible to lodge any companies at the mine, for want of victual, which from the town

they were not able to carry up the mountains, their companies being divided. He therefore, as he told me, thinking it a greater error to discover it to the Spaniards, themselves neither being able to work it nor possess it, than to excuse himself to the company, said that he could not find it.

'All which his fancies when I rejected, and before divers of the gentlemen disavowed his ignorance;—for I told him that a blind man might find it, by the marks which himself had set down under his hand; then I told him that his care of losing so many men in passing through the woods was but feigned, for after my son was slain I knew that he had no care at all of any man surviving; and therefore had he brought to the king but one hundred weight of the ore, though with the loss of 100 men, he had given his Majesty satisfaction, preserved my reputation, and given our nation encouragement to have returned this next year with greater force, and to have held the country for his Majesty, to whom it belongeth; and of which himself had given the testimony, that beside the excellent air, pleasantness, healthfulness, and riches, it hath plenty of corn, fruits, fish, fowl wild and tame, beeves, horses, sheep, hogs, deers, conies, hares, tortoises, armadiles, wanaes, oils, honey, wax, potatoes, sugar-canes, medicaments, balsamum, simples, gums, and what not; but seeing he had followed his own advice and not mine, I should be forced to leave him to the arguments, with the which if he could satisfy his Ma-

jesty and the state, I should be glad of it; though for my part he must excuse me to justify it, that he, if it had pleased him, though with some loss of men, might have gone directly to the place;—with that he seemed greatly discontent, and so he continued divers days.

'Afterward he came to me in my cabin, and shewed me a letter which he had written to the earl of Arundel, to whom he excused himself for not discovering of the mine, using the same arguments, and many others, which he had done before, and prayed me to allow of his apology. But I told him that he had undone me by his obstinacy, and that I would not favour or colour in any sort his former folly. He then asked me, whether that were my resolution; I answered that it was. He then replied in these words, *I know not then, Sir, what course to take;* and went out of my cabin into his own, in which he was no sooner entered but I heard a pistol go off. I sent up (not suspecting any such thing as the killing of himself) to know who shot a pistol. Keymis himself made answer, lying on his bed, that he had shot it off because it had been long charged, with which I was satisfied. Some half hour after this, the boy going into his cabin found him dead, having a long knife thrust under his left pap, through his heart, and his pistol lying by him, with which it appeared that he had shot himself; but the bullet, lighting upon a rib, had but broken the rib, and went no farther.

Now he that knew Keymis, did also know that he was of that obstinate resolution, and a man so far from caring to please or satisfy any man but himself, as no man's opinion, from the greatest to the least, could have persuaded him to have laid violent hands on himself. Neither would he have done it when he did it, could he have said unto me that he was ignorant of that place, and knew no such mine; for what cause had I then to have rejected his excuses, or to have laid his obstinacy to his charge?

Thus much I have added, because there are some puppies which have given it out, that Keymis slew himself because he had seduced so many gentlemen and others with an imaginary mine. But as his letter to me the 8th of January proves that he was then resolved to open it, so to take off all these kinds of objections, let Captain Charles Parker, Captain George Ralegh, and Captain King, all living, and in England, be put to their oaths, whether or no Keymis did not confess to them coming down the river, at a place where they cast anchor, that he could from that place have gone to the mine in two hours. I say then, that if the opening of the mine had been at that time to any purpose, or had they had any victuals left then to bring them away, or had they not been hastened by seeing the king of Spain's letters before they came to my hands, which I am assured Keymis had seen, who delivered them to me, (whereof one of them was dated at

Madrid the 19th of March before I left the river Thames, and with it three other dispatches; with a commission for the strengthening of Oronoko with 150 soldiers, which should have come down the river from the new kingdom of Granada, and other 150 from Porto Rico, with ten pieces of ordnance, which should have come up the river from the entrance, by which two troops they might have been inclosed); I say, had not the rest seen those dispatches, and that having stayed in the river above two months, they feared the hourly arrival of those forces, why had they not constrained Keymis to have brought them to the mine, being, as himself confesses, within two hours march?

'Again, had the companies' commanders but pinched the governor's man whom they had in their possession, he could have told them of two or three gold mines and a silver mine, not above four miles from the town, and given them the names of their possessors, with the reason why they forbore to work them at that time, and when they left off from working them. Which they did as well because they wanted negroes, as because they feared lest the English, French, or Dutch, would have forced them from those being once thoroughly opened, having not sufficient strength to defend themselves. But to this I have heard it said since my return, that the governor's man was by me persuaded, being in my power, to say that such mines there were, when indeed there was no such thing.

Certainly they were but silly fools that discovered this subtility of mine, who having not yet by the long calenture that weakened me lost all my wits; which I must have done if I had left my reputation in trust with a mulatto, who for a pot or two of wine, for a dozen of hatchets, or a gay suit of apparel, would have confessed that I had taught him to speak of mines that were not in *rerum natura*. No, I protest before the majesty of God, that without any other arguments or promise of mine than well usage, he hath discovered to me the way to five or six of the richest mines which the Spaniard hath, and whence all the mass of gold that comes into Spain in effect is drawn!

'Lastly, when the ships were come down the river, as far as Carapana's country, (who was one of the natural lords, and one that reserved that part of Guiana to her Majesty), hearing that the English had abandoned S^t. Thomé, and left no force in the country, which he hoped they would have done, he sent a great canoe with store of fruits and provisions to the captains, and by one of his men who spake Spanish, (having as it seemed been long in their hands), he offered them a rich gold mine in his own country, knowing it to be the best argument to persuade their stay. And if it pleased them to send up any one of the English to view it, he would leave sufficient pledges for his safe return. Mr. Leake, Mr. Moleneux, and others, offering themselves, which when the greater part re-

fused, (I know not by what reason led), he sent again (leaving one of his men still aboard) to entreat them to tarry but two days, and he himself would come to them and bring them a sample of the ore; for he was an exceeding old man when I was first in the country some 2′ years since. Which being also neglected, and the ships under sail, he, notwithstanding, sent a boat after them to the very mouth of the river, in hope to persuade them. That this is true, witness Captain Parker, Captain Leake, Mr. Stresham, Mr. Maudict, Mr. Moleneux, Mr. Robert Hammon, Mr. Nicholes, Captain King, Peter Andrews, and I know not how many others.

'But to set aside his offer also, there hath not been wanting an argument, though a foolish one; which was, that the Spaniards had employed the Indians with a purpose to betray our men. But this treason had been easily prevented if they had stayed the old man's coming, who would have brought them the gold ore aboard their ships; and what purpose could there be of treason when the Guianians offered to leave pledges six for one? Yea, one of the Indians whom the English had aboard them, who they found in fetters when they took the town of S$^{t}$. Thome, could have told them, that the cassique who sent unto them to show them the gold mine in his country, was unconquered and an enemy to the Spaniard; and could also have assured

them, that this cassique had gold mines in his country.

'I say then, that if they would neither force Keymis to go to the mine, when he was, by his own confession, within two hours march of it, to examine from whence these two ingots of gold which they brought me were taken, (which they found laid by for king's *quinto*, or fifth part), or those small pieces of silver, which had the same marks and stamps; if they refused to send any one of the fleet into the country to see the mines which the cassique Carapana offered them; if they would not vouchsafe to stay two days for the coming of Carapana himself, who would have brought them a sample of the gold ore; I say that there is no reason to lay it to my charge that I carried them with a pretence of gold, when neither Keymis nor myself knew of any in those parts. If it had been to have gotten my liberty, why did I not keep my liberty when I had it? Nay, why did I put my life in manifest peril to forego it? If I had had a purpose to have turned pirate, why did I oppose myself against the greatest number of my company, and was thereby in danger to be slain or cast into the sea because I refused it?

'A strange fancy had it been in me to have persuaded my son, whom I have lost, and to have persuaded my wife to have adventured the £8,000 which his Majesty gave them for Sherborne, and when that was spent to persuade my wife to sell her

house at Mitcham, in hope of enriching them by the mines of Guiana, if I myself had not seen them with my own eyes. For, being old and weakly, thirteen years in prison, and not used to the air, to travel, and to watching, it being ten to one that I should ever have returned, and of which by reason of my violent sickness and the long continuance thereof no man had any hope, what madness could have made me undertake this journey, but the assurance of the mine; thereby to have done his Majesty service, to have bettered my country by the trade, and to have restored my wife and children their estates they had lost, for which I have refused all other ways or means? For that I had no purpose to have changed my master and my country, my return in the state I did return, may satisfy every honest and indifferent man.

'An unfortunate man I am, and it is to me a greater loss than all I have lost, that it pleaseth his Majesty to be offended for the burning of a Spanish town in Guiana. Of which these parts bordering the river of Oronoko, and to the south as far as the Amazons, doth by the law of nations belong to the crown of England, as his Majesty was well resolved when it pleased him to grant part thereof to Mr. Harcourt, or else his Majesty would not have given me leave to have landed there. For I set it down under my hand, that I intended that enterprise, and nothing else; and that I meant to enter the country by the river Oronoko, it was not held

to be a breach of peace, neither by the state here, nor the Spanish ambassador, who knew it as well as I that I pretended the journey of Guiana, which he alway held to be a pretence. For he said it to Mr. Secretary Winwood, and to others of my lords, that if I meant to sail to Guiana, and had no intent to invade any part of his master's West-Indies, nor his fleets, I should not need to strengthen myself as I did, for I should work any mine there without any disturbance and in peace.

'To which I made answer, that I had set it under my hand to his Majesty that I had no other purpose, nor meant to undertake any thing else. But for the rest, if Sir John Hawkins in his journey to S^t^. John de Loa (notwithstanding that he had leave of the Spanish king to trade in all parts of the West-Indies, and having the plate fleet in his power, did not take out of it one ounce of silver, but kept his faith and promise in all places), was set upon by Don Henrico de Martines, whom he suffered (to save him from perishing) to enter the port upon Martines' faith, and interchanged pledges delivered, had the Jesus of Lubec, a ship of her Majesty's of 1000 tons, burnt, had his men slain, which he left on the land, lost his ordnance, and all the treasure which he had got by trade; what reason had I to go unarmed upon the ambassador's promises? Whose words and thoughts that they were not one it hath well appeared since then, as well by the forces which he persuaded his master to send to Guiana to encounter

me and cut me off there, as by his persecuting me since my return; who have neither invaded his master's Indies nor his fleet, whereof he stood in doubt.

'True it is, that the Spaniards cannot endure that the English nation should look upon any part of America, being above a fourth part of the whole known world, and the hundredth part neither possessed by the Spaniards, nor to them known; as Acosta the Jesuit, in his description of the West-Indies, doth confess, and is well known to be true. No, the king of Spain can pretend no other title to all that he hath not conquered, than the Pope's donation. For, from the Straits of Magellan, to the river of Plata, being a greater territory than all that the Spaniards possess in Peru or Chili, and from Cape S^t. Augustine to Trinidado, being a greater extent of land than all which he possesses in New Spain, or elsewhere, they have not one foot of ground in their possession, neither, for the greatest part of it, so much as in their own knowledge.

'In Oronoko they have lately set up a wooden town, and made a kind of a fort, but they have never been able either to conquer the Guianians, nor to reconcile them. But the Guianians, before their planting there, did willingly resign all that territory to her Majesty, who by me promised to receive them and defend them against the Spaniard. And though I were a prisoner for this last fourteen years, yet I was at the charge every year, or every second year, to send

unto them to keep them in hope of being relieved. And as I have said before, the greatest of the natural lords did offer us a rich mine of gold in his own country, in hope to hold us there. And if this usurped possession of the Spaniard be a sufficient bar to his Majesty's right, and that thereby the king of Spain calls himself king of Guiana, why might he not as well call himself duke of Brittany, because he took possession of Blavet, and built a fort there, and call himself king of Ireland, because he took possession at Smerwic, and built a fort there?

'If the ambassador had protested to his Majesty, that my going to Guiana before I went would be a breach to the peace, I am persuaded that his Majesty, if he had not been resolved that Guiana had been his, would have stayed me. But if it be now thought to be a breach of peace, not for the going thither (for that cannot be, because I had no other intent and went with leave) but for taking and burning of a Spanish town in the country, certainly, if the country be the king of Spain's, it had been no less a breach of peace to have wrought any mine of his, and to have robbed him of his gold, than it is now called a breach of peace to take a town of his in Guiana and burn it. And with as good reason might I have been called a thief and a robber, and have been punished for a thief and robber of the king of Spain, if the country be not his Majesty's, as I am now pursued for the invasion. For either the country is the king of Spain's or the king's. If

it be the king's, I have not then offended; if it be not the king's, I must have perished if I had but taken gold out of the mines there, though I had found no Spaniards in the country.

'For conclusion; if we had had any peace with the Spaniards in those parts of the world, why did even those Spaniards which were now encountered in Guiana, tie 26 Englishmen out of Mr. Hall's ship of London and mine back to back, and cut their throats, after they had traded with them a whole month, and came to them ashore, having not so much as a sword, or any other weapon among them all? And if the Spaniard to our complaints made answer, that there was nothing in the treaty against our trading in the Indies, but that we might trade at our peril, I trust in God that the word peril shall ever be construed to be indifferent to both nations; otherwise we must for ever abandon the Indies, and lose all our knowledge and our pilotage of that part of the world. If we have no other peace than this, how can there be a breach of peace? Since the Spaniards with all nations, and all nations with them, may trade upon their guard. For to break peace where there is no peace, is impossible.

'The readiest way that the Spanish ambassador could have taken to have stayed me from going to Guiana, had been to have discovered the great practices which I had with his master against the king, my sovereign lord, in the first year of his Majesty's reign of Great Britain, for which I lost my estate,

and lay thirteen years in the Tower of London. And, not to urge my offences in Guiana, to which his master hath no title, other than his sword, with which to this day he hath not conquered the least of those nations, and against whom, contrary to the catholic profession, his captains have entertained, and do entertain, whole nations of cannibals. For, in a letter of the governor's to the king of Spain, of July 8th, he not only complaineth that the Guianians are in arms against him, but that even those Indians, who under their noses live, do in despight of all the king's edicts, trade with Los Flamingos & Angleses enemigos, with the Flemish and English enemies; never once naming the English nation but with the epithet of an enemy.

'But in truth the Spanish ambassador hath complained against me to no other end, than to prevent my complaints against the Spaniards; when, landing my men in a territory appertaining to the crown of England, they were invaded and slain before any violence offered to the Spaniards. And I hope that the ambassador doth not esteem us for so wretched and miserable a people, as to offer our throats to their swords without any manner of resistance.

'Howsoever, I have said it already, and I will say it again, that if Guiana be not his Majesty's, the working of a mine there, and the taking of a town there, had been equally perilous to me. For by doing the one, I had robbed the king of Spain and

been a thief; and by the other, a disturber or breaker of the peace.'

THE ADDRESS TO LORD CAREW.

'Because I know not whether I shall live to come before the lords, I have, for his Majesty's satisfaction, here set down as much as I can say, either for mine own defence or against myself, as things are now construed.

'It is true, that though I acquainted his Majesty with my intent to land in Guiana, yet I never made it known to his Majesty that the Spaniards had any footing there. Neither had I any authority by patent to remove them from thence, and therefore his Majesty had no interest in the attempt of S^t. Thome, by any foreknowledge in his Majesty.

'But knowing his Majesty's title to the country to be best and most christian, because the natural lords did most willingly acknowledge Queen Elizabeth to be their sovereign, who by me promised to defend them from the Spanish cruelty, I made no doubt but I might enter the land by force, seeing the Spaniards had no other title but force (the Pope's donation excepted), considering also that they had got a possession there divers years since my possession for the crown of England. For, were not Guiana his Majesty's, then might I as well have been questioned for a thief for taking the gold

out of the king of Spain's mines, as the Spaniards do now call me a peace-breaker. For, from any territory that belongs to the king of Spain, it is no more lawful to take gold, than lawful for the Spaniards to take tin out of Cornwall. Were this possession of theirs a sufficient bar to his Majesty's right, the kings of Spain may as well call themselves dukes of Britany, because they held Blavet and fortified there, and kings of Ireland, because they possessed Smerwic and fortified there, and so in other places.

'That his Majesty was well resolved of his right there, I make no kind of doubt, because the English both under Mr. Charles Leigh and Mr. Harcourt, had leave to plant and inhabit the country.'

'The Oronoko itself had long ere this had 5,000 English in it, I assure myself, had not my employment at Cales the next year after my return from Guiana, and after that our journey to the islands, hindered me for those two years. After which Tyrone's rebellion made her Majesty unwilling that any great number of ships or men should be taken out of England, till that rebellion were ended. And, lastly, her Majesty's death, and my long imprisonment, gave time to the Spaniards to set up a town of sticks, covered with leaves of trees, upon the bank of Oronoko, which they call S$^{t}$. Thome. But they have neither reconciled nor conquered any of the cassiques or natural lords of the country, which

cassiques are still in arms against them, as by the governor's letter to the king of Spain may appear.

'That by landing in Guiana there can be any breach of peace, I think it (under favour) impossible; for, to break peace where there is no peace, it cannot be. That the Spaniards give us no peace there, it doth appear, by the king's letters to the governor, that they should put to death all those Spaniards and Indians that trade *con los Angleses enemigos*, with English enemies. Yea, those very Spaniards which we encountered at S^t^. Thome, did of late years murder 36 of Mr. Hale's men of London, and mine, who landed without weapon upon the Spaniard's faith to trade with them. Mr. Thorne also, in Tower street in London, beside many other English, were in like sort murdered in Oronoko the year before my delivery out of the Tower. Now if this kind of trade be peaceable, there is then a peaceable trade in the Indies between us and the Spaniards. But if this be cruel war and hatred and no peace, then there is no peace broken by our attempt.

'Again, how doth it stand with the greatness of the king of Spain, first to call us enemies, when he did hope to cut us in pieces, and then, having failed, to call us peace-breakers. For to be an enemy and a peace-breaker in one and the same action is impossible. But the king of Spain in his letter to the governor of Guiana, dated at Madrid March 19^th^, before we left the Thames, calls us, *Angleses enemigos*, English enemies. If it had pleased the

king of Spain to have written to his Majesty in seven months time, (for we were so long in preparing), and have made his Majesty know that our landing in Guiana would draw after it a breach of peace, I presume to think that his Majesty would have staid our enterprise for the present. This he might have done with less charge, than to levy 300 soldiers, and transport ten pieces of ordnance from Porto Rico, which soldiers added to the garrison of S^t^. Thome, had they arrived before our coming, had overthrown all our raw companies, and there would have followed no complaints.

For the main point of landing near S^t^. Thome, it is true that we were of opinion, that we must have driven the Spaniards out of the town before we could pass the thick woods upon the mountains to the mine. Which I confess I did first resolve upon, but better bethinking myself, I referred the taking of the town to the goodness of the mine. Which if they found to be so rich, as it might persuade the leaving of the garrison, then to drive the Spaniards thence; but to have burnt was never my intent, neither could they give me any reason why they did.

'Upon their return, I examined the serjeant-major and Keymis, why they followed not my last directions for the trial of the mine before the taking of the town; and they answered me, that although they durst hardly go to the mine, leaving a garrison of Spaniards between them and their boats, yet they offended their latter directions, and did land be-

tween the town and the mine. And that the Spaniards, without any manner of parley, set upon them unawares, and charged them, calling them *Perros Angleses*, and by skirmishing with them, they drew them on to the very entrance of the town before they knew where they were. So that if any peace had been in those parts, the Spaniards first brake the peace and made the first slaughter. For as the English could not but land to seek the mine, being come thither to that end, so, being first reviled and charged by the Spaniards, they could do no less than repel force by force.

'Lastly, it is a matter of no small consequence to acknowledge, that we have offended the king of Spain by landing in Guiana. For, first, it weakens his Majesty's title to the country, or quits it. Secondly, there is no king that hath ever given the least way to any other king or state in the traffic of the lives or goods of his subjects, viz. in our case, that it shall be lawful for the Spaniards to murder us, either by force or treason, and unlawful for us to defend ourselves and pay them with their own coin. For this superiority and inferiority is a thing which no absolute monarch ever yielded to, or ever will. Thirdly, it shews the English bears greater respect to the Spaniard, and is more doubtful of his forces, than either the French or Dutch is, who daily invade all parts of the Indies without being questioned at their return. Yea, at my own being at Plymouth, a French gentleman called Flory, went

thence with four sail and 300 landmen, with commission to land and burn, and to sack, all places in the Indies that he could master, and yet the French king hath married the daughter of Spain.

'This is all that I can say, other than that I have spent my poor estate, lost my son and my health, and endured as many sorts of miseries, as ever man did, in hope to do his Majesty acceptable service; and have not to my understanding committed any hostile act, other than entrance upon a territory belonging rightly to the crown of England, where the English were first set upon and slain by the usurping Spaniards. I invaded no other parts of the Indies, pretended to by the Spaniards.

'I returned into England with manifest peril of my life, with a purpose not to hold my life with any other than his Majesty's grace, and from which no man nor any peril could dissuade me. To that grace, and goodness, and kingliness, I refer myself, which, if it shall find that I have not yet suffered enough, it yet may please to add more affliction to the remainder of a wretched life.'[b]

[b] The Apology appears to have been first published with Sir Walter's Essays, in 1650. It hath been reprinted with the Abridgement of his History of the World, and in Dr. Birch's Works of Ralegh (II, 249); but, even in this last instance, with unpardonable negligence. A good old MS. copy or two of it is to be found in Sir Hans Sloane's Collection, and a very good one was presented to the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, by Mr. Baker. An attempt is made to restore the sense in the present edition.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Howell's two letters....Sir Walter's return....The Spanish match.....Gondomar's persecution.....The king's proclamation....Lord Carew's assiduity.... The king's reply....Ralegh surrenders himself.... He feigns illness, and meditates his escape....Overture of the French agent....Ralegh betrayed by Stukely....He is recommitted to the Tower....His letters to the king and Buckingham....Gondomar goes to Spain....His parting injunctions....Ralegh examined ....The commissioners' letter to the king....Ralegh told to prepare for death....He is brought to the King's bench....The proceedings against him....He is taken to the Gatehouse....The petitions in his favour....The queen's letter....His firmness....His verses before death, and answer to some imputations.... His behaviour on the scaffold....His last speech.... His death....Dr. Tounson's letter....Ralegh's execution odious to the people....The king's Declaration. ....Letter to Cottington.*

Among Howell's Familiar Letters is one to Sir James Crofts in 1618, when, as he informs us, he was *a youth about the town*, which gives a juster picture than any piece I am acquainted with, of the sentiments prevailing with the public, (ever too apt

to judge of actions by the event), on hearing the first news of the failure of Sir Walter's expedition. This letter appears to have drawn a remonstrance many years after the knight's death from his son Carew, addressed privately to Howell; and the latter having probably, with others, improved his judgment of the matter in his riper years, wrote him an exculpatory answer, which was published in a subsequent edition of the Letters. As they afford information on our subject, and are not unentertaining, both letters are here presented to the reader.

JAMES HOWELL, ESQ. TO SIR JAMES CROFTS, KNIGHT, AT ST. OSITH.

'SIR,—I could not shake hands with England, without kissing your hands also; and because, in regard of your distance now from London, I cannot do it in person, I send this paper for my deputy.

'The news that keeps greatest noise here now, is the return of Sir Walter Ralegh from his mine of gold in Guiana, the south parts of America, which at first was like to be such a hopeful boon voyage, but it seems that that golden mine is proved a mere chimera, an imaginary airy mine; and indeed his Majesty had never any other conceit of it. But what will not one in captivity (as Sir Walter was) promise, to regain his freedom? Who would not

promise, not only mines, but mountains of gold, for liberty? And it is pity such a knowing well-weighed knight had not had a better fortune. For the Destiny (I mean that brave ship which he built himself of that name, that carried him thither) is like to prove a fatal destiny to him, and to some of the rest of those gallant adventurers who contributed for the setting forth of thirteen ships more, who were most of them his kinsmen and younger brothers, being led into the said expedition by a general conceit the world had of the wisdom of Sir Walter Ralegh; and many of these are like to make shipwreck of their estates in this voyage. Sir Walter landed at Plymouth, whence he thought to make an escape; and some say he hath tampered with his body by physic, to make him look sickly, that he may be the more pitied, and permitted to lie in his own house. Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, speaks high language; and sending lately to desire audience of his Majesty, he said he had but one word to tell him. His Majesty wondering what might be delivered in one word, when he came before him, he said only, *pirates*, *pirates*, *pirates*, and so departed.

'It is true that he protested against this voyage before, and that it could not be but for some predatory design. And that if it be, as I hear, I fear it will go very ill with Sir Walter; and that Gondomar will never give him over, till he hath his head off his shoulders; which may quickly be done

without any new arraignment, by virtue of the old sentence that lies still dormant against him, which he could never get-off by pardon, notwithstanding that he mainly laboured in it before he went. But his Majesty could never be brought to it, for he said he would keep this as a curb, to hold him within the bounds of his commission, and the good behaviour.

'Gondomar cries out, that he hath broke the sacred peace betwixt the two kingdoms. That he hath fired and plundered Santo Thoma, a colony the Spaniards had planted with so much blood, near under the line, which made it prove such hot service unto him, and where, beside others, he lost his eldest son in the action. And could they have preserved the magazine of tobacco only, beside other things in that town, something might have been had to countervail the charge of the voyage. Gondomar alledgeth farther, that the enterprise of the mine failing, he propounded to the rest of his fleet to go and intercept some of the plate galeons, with other designs which would have drawn after them apparent acts of hostility, and so demands justice. Beside other disasters which fell out upon the dashing of the first design, Captain Keymis, who was the main instrument for discovery of the mine, pistoled himself in a desperate mood of discontent in his cabin, in the Convertine.

This return of Sir Walter Ralegh from Guiana, puts me in mind of a facetious tale I read lately in

Italian, (for I have a little of that language already), how Alphonso king of Naples sent a Moor, who had been his captive a long time, to Barbary, with a considerable sum of money to buy horses, and return by such a time. Now there was about the king a kind of buffoon or jester, who had a table-book or journal, wherein he was used to register any absurdity, or impertinence, or merry passage, that happened about the court. That day the Moor was dispatched for Barbary, the said jester waiting upon the king at supper, the king called for his journal, and asked what he had observed that day. Thereupon he produced his table-book, and, among other things, he read how Alphonso king of Naples had sent Beltram the Moor, who had been a long time his prisoner, to Morocco (his own country) with so many thousand crowns, to buy horses. The king asked him why he inserted that; because, said he, I think he will never come back to be a prisoner again, and so you have lost both man and money. But if he do come, then your jest is marred, quoth the king; *No, Sir; for if he return I will blot out your name, and put him in for a fool.*

'The application is easy and obvious. But the world wonders extremely, that so great a wise man as Sir Walter Ralegh would return to cast himself upon so inevitable a rock as I fear he will; and much more, that such choice men, and so great a power of ships, should all come home and do nothing.'

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JAMES HOWELL, ESQ. TO CAREW RALEGH, ESQ.

'SIR,—Yours of the 7th current was brought me, whereby I find that you did put yourself to the penance of perusing some epistles that go imprinted lately in my name. I am bound to you for your pains and patience, (for you write you read them all through), much more for your candid opinion of them, being right glad that they should give entertainment to such a choice and judicious gentleman as yourself. But whereas you seem to except against something in one letter that reflects upon Sir Walter Ralegh's voyage to Guiana, because I term the gold mine, he went to discover, an *airy and suppositious mine*, and so infer, that it toucheth his honour; truly, Sir, I will deal clearly with you in that point, that I never harboured in my brain the least thought to expose to the world any thing that might prejudice, much less traduce in the least degree that could be, that rare renowned knight, whose fame shall contend in longevity with this island itself, yea, with that great world which he historiseth so gallantly.

'I was a youth about the town when he undertook that expedition, and I remember most men suspected that mine then to be but an imaginary politic thing; but at his return, and missing of the enterprise, these suspicions turned in most to real beliefs that it was no other. And King James, in that

Declaration which he commanded to be printed and published afterward, touching the circumstances of this action (upon which my letter is grounded, and which I have still by me) terms it no less. And if we may not give faith to such public regal instruments, what shall we credit? Beside, there goes another printed kind of remonstrance annexed to that Declaration, which intimates as much. And there is a worthy captain in this town, who was co-adventurer in that expedition, who, upon the storming of S^t. Thomas, heard young Mr. Ralegh encouraging his men in these words, *Come on, my noble hearts, this is the mine we come for; and they who think there is any other are fools.* Add hereunto, that Sir Richard Baker, in his last historical collections, intimates so much. Therefore, it was far from being any opinion broached by myself, or bottomed upon weak grounds; for I was careful of nothing more, than that those letters being to breath open air, should relate nothing but what should be derived from good fountains. And truly, Sir, touching that Apology of Sir Walter Ralegh's you write of, I never saw it, and I am very sorry I did not; for it had let in more light upon me of the carriage of that great action, and then you might have been assured, that I would have done that noble knight all the right that could be.

'But, Sir, the several arguments that you urge in your letters are of that strength, I confess, that they are able to rectify any indifferent man in this

point, and induce him to believe that it was no chimera, but a real mine. For you write of divers pieces of gold brought thence by Sir Walter himself, and Captain Keymis, and of some ingots that were found in the governor's closet at S^t^. Thomas, with divers crucibles, and other refining instruments. Yet, under favour, that might be, and the benefit not countervail the charge; for the richest mines that the king of Spain hath upon the whole continent of America, which are the mines of Potosi, yield him but six in the hundred, all expences defrayed. You write how King James sent privately to Sir Walter, being yet in the Tower, to entreat and command him, that he would impart his whole design to him under his hand, promising upon the word of a king to keep it secret. Which being done accordingly by Sir Walter Ralegh, that very original paper was found in the said Spanish governor's closet at S^t^. Thomas. Whereat, as you have just cause to wonder, and admire the activeness of the Spanish agents about our court at that time, so I wonder no less at the miscarriage of some of his late Majesty's ministers, who notwithstanding that he had passed his royal word to the contrary, yet they did help Count Gondomar to that paper. So that the reproach lieth more upon the English than the Spanish ministers in this particular.

'Whereas you allege, that the dangerous sickness of Sir Walter, being arrived near the place, and the death of (that rare spark of courage) your

brother upon the first landing, with other circumstances, discouraged Captain Keymis from discovering the mine, but would reserve it for another time; I am content to give as much credit to this as any man can. As also that Sir Walter, if the rest of the fleet, according to his earnest motion, had gone with him to revictual in Virginia, (a country where he had reason to be welcome unto, being of his own discovery), he had a purpose to return to Guiana the spring following to pursue his first design. I am also very willing to believe, that it cost Sir Walter Ralegh much more to put himself in equipage for that long-intended voyage, than would have paid for his liberty, if he had gone about to purchase it for reward of money at home; though I am not ignorant that many of the co-adventurers made large contributions, and the fortunes of some of them suffer for it at this very day. But although Gondomar, as my letter mentions, calls Sir Walter pirate, I for my part am far from thinking so; because, as you give an unanswerable reason, the plundering of S$^{t}$. Thomas was an act done beyond the equator, where the articles of peace betwixt the two kings do not extend. Yet, under favour, though he broke not the peace, he was said to break his patent, by exceeding the bounds of his commission, as the aforesaid Declaration relates. For King James had made strong promises to Count Gondomar, that this fleet should commit no outrages upon the king of Spain's subjects by

land, unless they began first; and I believe that was the main cause of his death, though I think if they had proceeded that way against him, in a legal course of trial, he might have defended himself well enough.

'Whereas you allege, that if that action had succeeded, and afterward been well prosecuted, it might have brought Gondomar's great catholic master, to have been begged for at the church doors by friars, as he was once brought, in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's days, I believe it had much damnified him, and interrupted him in the possession of his West Indies, but not brought him, under favour, to so low an ebb. I have observed that it is an ordinary thing in your popish countries, for princes to borrow from the altar, when they are reduced to any straits; for they say, *the riches of the church are to serve as anchors in time of a storm.* Divers of our kings have done worse, by pawning their plate and jewels.

Whereas my letter makes mention that Sir Walter Ralegh mainly laboured for his pardon before he went, but could not compass it; this is also a passage in the aforesaid printed relation. But I could have wished with all my heart he had obtained it; for I believe, that neither the transgression of his commission, nor any thing that he did beyond the line, could have shortened the line of his life otherwise. But in all probability we might have been happy in him to this very day, having

such an heroic heart as he had, and other rare helps by his great knowledge, for the preservation of health. I believe without any scruple what you write, that Sir William S^t. John made an overture to him of procuring his pardon for £1,500, but whether he could have effected it, I doubt a little, when he had come to negociate it really. But I extremely wonder how that old sentence, which had lain dormant above sixteen years, against Sir Walter Ralegh, could have been made use of to take off his head afterward, considering that the Lord Chancellor Verulam, as you write, told him positively, (as Sir Walter was acquainting him with that proffer of Sir William S^t. John for a pecuniary pardon), in these words, *Sir, the knee-timber of your voyage is money; spare your purse in this particular, for upon my life you have a sufficient parden for all that is past already, the king having under his broad seal made you admiral of your fleet, and given you power of the martial law over your officers and soldiers.* One would think that by this royal patent, which gave him power of life and death over the king's liege people, Sir Walter Ralegh should become *rectus in curia*, and free from all old convictions.

'But, Sir, to tell you the plain truth, Count Gondomar at that time had a great stroke in our court, because there was more than a mere overture of a match with Spain; which makes me apt to believe, that that great wise knight being such an

Anti-Spaniard, was made a sacrifice to advance the matrimonial treaty. But I must needs wonder, as you justly do, that one and the same man should be condemned for being a friend to the Spaniard, (which was the ground of his first condemnation), and afterward lose his head for being their enemy by the same sentence.

'Touching his return, I must confess I was utterly ignorant that those two noble earls, Thomas of Arundel, and William of Pembroke, were engaged for him in this particular; nor doth the printed relation make any mention of them at all. Therefore I must say, that envy herself must pronounce that return of his, for the acquitting of his fiduciary pledges, to be a most noble act; and waving that of King Alphonso's Moor, I may more properly compare it to the act of that famous Roman commander (Regulus, as I take it), who, to keep his promise and faith, returned to his enemies where he had been prisoner, though he knew he went to an inevitable death. But well did that faithless cunning knight, who betrayed Sir Walter Ralegh in his intended escape being come a-shore, fall to that contemptible end, as to die a poor distracted beggar in the isle of Lundey, having for a bag of money falsified his faith, confirmed by the tie of the holy sacrament, as you write; as also before the year came about, to be found clipping the same coin in the king's own house at Whitehall, which he had received as a reward for his perfidiousness;

for which being condemned to be hanged, he was driven to sell himself to his shirt, to purchase his pardon of two knights.

And now, Sir, let that glorious and gallant cavalier Sir Walter Ralegh *(who lived long enough for his own honour, though not for his country*, as it was said of a Roman consul), rest quietly in his grave, and his virtues live in his posterity, as I find they do strongly, and very eminently in you. I have heard his enemies confess, that he was one of the weightiest and wisest men that this island ever bred. Mr. Nathaniel Carpenter, a learned and judicious author, was not in the wrong when he gave this discreet character of him; *who hath not known or read of this prodigy of wit and fortune, Sir Walter Ralegh, a man unfortunate in nothing else, but in the greatness of his wit and advancement, whose eminent worth was such, both in domestic policy, foreign expeditions, and discoveries in arts and literature, both practic and contemplative, that it might seem at once to conquer example and imitation!*[a]

* * * * * *

Camden, without informing us when Sir Walter arrived in England, makes a memorandum in his Annals of King James, that, *on May* 13th, 1618, *John North, brother to my Lord North, relates the sad news to the king about the unfortunate expedi-* 1618.

[a] See Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ, 11th edition, p. 21 and 383.

*tion of Sir Walter Ralegh to Guiana—his son being slain in the storming of the Spanish fort—Keymis, cutting his own throat for grief, died—the fleet dispersed*. In addition to which, Arthur Wilson[b] informs us, that after a mutiny on board his remaining fleet at Newfoundland, Ralegh reached Kinsale, and thence proceeded to Plymouth. His arrival at the latter port was probably late in June or early in July.

Meanwhile a marriage, which had been proposed between Prince Charles and the second daughter of Spain, was at this time an interesting and favourite idea with James; notwithstanding that court too plainly discoverd with how little sincerity, for the present at least, it entered into the negociation. Among other advantages, the king's anxiety, but too well understood by Gondomar, afforded that ambassador an opportunity, fatally favourable, of aggravating Sir Walter's conduct in America, and ridding Spain of her old and inveterate enemy. It is possible also that the death of Palameca (his near relative[c]) at S[t]. Thome, and the former capture by Ralegh of Don Pedro Sarmiento (perhaps also a relative) may have added personal motives to the ambassador's resentment against Sir Walter. At any rate, he acted a very vigorous and decisive part against him; and, probably, compelled the king, as he valued the Spanish alliance, to enter warmly into

b Life and Reign of James I.

c Oldy's Life of Ralegh, p. 210, note.

his cause. James accordingly gave an early proof of his devotion to this interest, by publishing a proclamation, on the 11th of June, declaratory of his detestation of the conduct of the expedition; and charging such of his subjects as could give any information in the matter to repair immediately to the privy-council. This paper is printed at full length in the Appendix.[a]

The Harleian Collection has preserved a letter from a Mr. Thomas Lorkin, in London, to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart. at Warwick, written in June 1618, a passage in which discovers the assiduity of Lord Carew at that time in Sir Walter's behalf, as well as the vain hopes entertained by his friends. *Sir Walter Ralegh's business*, he writes, *rests yet in the same terms that before. Only my Lord Carew was upon his knees before the king on Thursday last a good while, in his behalf. And they say his Majesty's answer was, that as good hang him as deliver him to the king of Spain, who assuredly would; and one of these two he must, at least if the case were so as the Spanish ambassador had represented it. And when my Lord yet pressed him*, why, the most thou canst expect, *said the king*, is, that I would give him the hearing, *and so dismissed him. And, indeed, a legal hearing is all Sir Walter's well-wishers desire, for then they*

[a] N° XVIII. It is to be remarked of this paper, that it alludes to limitations and cautions which the commission itself doth not contain.

*make no doubt but he will make his cause good against all accusations in this kind whatsoever.*[e]

Sir Walter no sooner reached Plymouth and heard of the proclamation, than he resolved to surrender himself;[f] trusting, as he confessed before his death, *somewhat too much in the king's goodness.*[g] Before he came to Ashburton in his way to town, he met his relative, Sir Lewis Stukely, with authority to arrest and bring him to London; *so unnatural and servile*, observes Wilson, *is the spirit when it hath an allay of baseness, there being many others fitter for that employment.*[h] With Stukely Sir Walter returned to Plymouth; where, panic-struck, upon a closer view of his situation, he once meditated an escape into France (with a view, probably, of returning to Guiana, and proving his point), held a vessel in readiness some days, and one night actually took boat for her. Still, however, the goodness of his cause prevailed over every apprehension, and this project was again laid aside.[i] Yet he found it necessary, on his journey to London, to gain time for pre-

[e] Vol. 7002.

[f] To Captain Samuel King, an old officer of Ralegh's, we are indebted for a narrative of the occurrences from Sir Walter's landing till his arrival in London. It has never, I believe, been published, but the MS. was seen and followed by Oldys (See his Life of Ralegh, p. 209.)

[g] Sir Walter's Answer to some things at his death, in this chapter.

[h] Life and Reign of James I.

[i] King's Narrative, as above.

paring his vindication by the expedient of feigning illness; which he practised at Salisbury by the assistance of Mannourie, a French quack, and in that interval wrote the Apology for his voyage, already given in the preceding chapter. The particulars of this stratagem, as *prepared* and published by King James, in his Declaration, after Sir Walter's death, will be found in the Appendix,[k] and need not be repeated here.

As Sir Walter approached London, and became better acquainted with the politics of the court, he regretted to his lady (who, it appears, had joined him on the road) and to his old servant, King, that he had not profited of the opportunity which he enjoyed at Plymouth. And, when a pursuivant appeared, with a warrant for the speedy bringing up his person, his constancy forsook him, and he again, notwithstanding the increased difficulty, meditated an escape. *He once more*, King informs us, *employed me, who was alway ready to do any thing that might procure his safety; being well assured in my own conscience, though he sought to absent himself till the Spanish fury was over, yet, as he alway said that no misery should make him disloyal to his king or country. And although Mannourie, in his declaration, sets down, that Sir Walter Ralegh should to him in private speak ill of his Majesty, yet I must protest till my last hour, that in all the years I fol-*

[k] N°. XXI.

*lowed him I never heard him name his Majesty but with reverence.* King was accordingly dispatched before-hand to London, to prepare a vessel for this purpose.[1]

The royal Declaration, published after Sir Walter's death, informs us, that on the knight's arrival at Brentford, he received an overture (which was afterward followed up by a meeting) from Le Clerc, at this time the French agent in London, to facilitate his escape into France, and secure his introduction in that country; the former part of which he declined, placing greater confidence in his messenger's preparations.[m] King, however, as well as Ralegh, greatly misapplied his trust in the agents he employed; and Stukely, after receiving a bribe, encouraging, and even pretending to lend a hand in the design, betrayed Sir Walter. In a boat, below Woolwich, in the very act of making his escape in dis-

[1] King's Narrative, as above.

[m] Appendix, N°. XXI. Le Clerc was cited before the council for this, and, after enforcing the observance of certain ceremonies to himself, confessed the whole and was suspended from his office, until it was known whether the king of France recognised his conduct or not. Sir W. Becher, our agent in France, was in consequence confined to his house, and a dispatch sent to Le Clerc, to be delivered by *himself* to King James, with which he went to the king at Royston. Being refused admittance, and referred to the lords in waiting, he returned with the dispatch to France, and Becher's revocation ensued. (See Finetti Philoxenis, 8vo, 1656, p. 56; and Camden's Annals of James I, 1618.)

guise, the knight was apprehended, and recommitted to the Tower on the 10th of August.[n]

Though the precise dates of the following letters, addressed by Sir Walter to the king and the favourite, be uncertain, no material error can arise by their insertion at this place.

### SIR WALTER RALEGH TO KING JAMES I.

'*May it please your Most Excellent Majesty!*

'If in my journey outward-bound I had my men murdered at the islands, and yet spared to take revenge; if I did discharge some Spanish barks taken, without spoil; if I forbore all parts of the Spanish Indies, wherein I might have taken twenty of their towns on the sea-coasts; and did only follow the enterprise I undertook for Guiana (where, without any directions from me, a Spanish village was burnt which was new set up within three miles of the mine), by your Majesty's favour, I find no reason why the Spanish ambassador should complain of me.

'If it were lawful for the Spaniards to murder twenty-six Englishmen, tying them back to back, and then cutting their throats, when they had traded with them a whole month, and came to them on the land without so much as one sword; and it may not be lawful for your Majesty's subjects, being charged

[n] King's Narrative, as above.

first by them, to repel force by force—we may justly say, *O! miserable English!*

'If Parker and Mecham took Campeachy, and other places in the Honduras, seated in the heart of the Spanish Indies, burnt towns and killed the Spaniards, and had nothing said unto them at their return; and myself, who forbore to look into the Indies, because I would not offend, must be accused—I may as justly say, *O! miserable Ralegh!*

'If I have spent my poor estate, lost my son, suffered, by sickness and otherwise, a world of hardships; if I have resisted, with manifest hazard of my life, the robberies and spoils with which my companions would have made me rich; if, when I was poor, I could have made myself rich; if, when I had gotten my liberty, which all men, and nature itself do much prize, I voluntarily lost it; if, when I was sure of my life, I rendered it again; if I might elsewhere have sold my ship and goods, and put five or £6,000 in my purse, and yet brought her into England; I beseech your Majesty to believe, that all this I have done, because it should not be said that your Majesty had given liberty and trust to a man, whose end was but the recovery of his liberty, and who had betrayed your Majesty's trust.

'My mutineers told me, that if I returned for England I should be undone; but I believed in your Majesty's goodness more than in all their arguments. Sure I am the first, that being free and able to enrich myself, yet hath embraced proverty and peril:

and as sure I am that my example shall make me the last. But your Majesty's wisdom and goodness I have made my judges, who have ever been, and shall ever be,

Your Majesty's most humble vassal,

WALTER RALEGH.*

SIR WALTER RALEGH TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

'If I presume too much, I humbly beseech your lordship to pardon me, especially in presuming to write to so great and worthy a person, who hath been told that I have done him wrong. I heard it but of late; but most happy had I been, if I might have disproved that villainy against me, when there had been no suspicion that the desire to save my life had presented my excuse.

'But, my worthy lord, it is not to excuse myself that I now write. I cannot, for I have now offended my sovereign lord. For all past, even all the world and my very enemies have lamented my loss; whom now if his Majesty's mercy alone do not lament, I am lost.

'Howsoever, that which doth comfort my soul in this offence is, that even in the offence itself, I had no other intent than his Majesty's service, and

* In a copy in the Harleian Collection (xxxix, 350) this letter bears date September 1618. See also other collections, and Birch's Works of Ralegh, II, 375.

to make his Majesty know that my late enterprise was grounded upon a truth. And which with one ship speedily set out, I meant to have assured or to have died; being resolved, as it is well known, to have done it from Plymouth, had I not been restrained. Hereby I hoped not only to recover his Majesty's gracious opinion, but have destroyed all those malignant reports which had been spread of me. That this is true, that gentleman whom I so much trusted (my keeper) and to whom I opened my heart, cannot but testify; and wherein if I cannot be believed living, my death shall witness. Yea, that gentleman cannot but avow it, that when we came back toward London, I desired to save no other treasure than the exact description of those places in the Indies. That I meant to go hence as a discontented man, God, I trust, and mine own actions will dissuade his Majesty (whom neither the loss of my estate, thirteen years imprisonment, and the denial of my pardon, could beat from his service; and the opinion of being accounted a fool, or rather distract, by returning as I did unpardoned, balanced with my love to his Majesty's person and estate), had no place at all in my heart.

'It was the last severe letter from my lords for the speedy bringing of me up, and the impatience of dishonour, that first put me in fear of my life, or enjoying it in a perpetual imprisonment never to recover my reputation lost. Which strengthened me in my late, and too late, lamented resolution, if his

Majesty's mercy do not abound; if his Majesty do not pity my age, and scorn to take the extremest and utmost advantage of my errors; if his Majesty, in his great charity, do not make a difference between offences proceeding from a life-saving, natural impulsion, without all ill intent, and those of an ill heart; and that your lordship, remarkable in the world for the nobleness of your disposition, do not vouchsafe to become my intercessor. Whereby your lordship shall bind a hundred gentlemen of my kindred to honour your memory, and bind me, for all the time of that life which your lordship shall beg for me, to pray to God that you may ever prosper; and ever bind me to remain,

Your most humble servant,

W. RALEGH.[p]

Meanwhile, Gondomar had set out in July[q] on his tardy[r] journey to Spain, with the articles of the proposed marriage of Prince Charles, signed by the king.[s] His parting injunction relative to Ralegh, is described in an extant letter from Mr. (afterward Sir) Toby Matthew to the Lord-chancellor Bacon, written in August 1618, in the following manner.

[p] This letter, in some copies, bears date August 12th, and in others October 14th, 1618. See Cabala, and Birch's Works of Ralegh, II, 387.

[q] Camden's Annals of James I.

[r] Rushworth's Hist. Collections, I, 9.

[s] Rapin's England.

'*At my parting last from your lordship, the grief I had to leave your lordship's presence, though but for a little time, was such, as that being accompanied with some small corporal indisposition that I was in, made me forgetful to say that which now, for his Majesty's service, I thought myself bound not to silence. I was credibly informed and assured, when the Spanish ambassador went away, that howsoever Ralegh and the prentices*[t] *should fall out to be proceeded withal, no more instances would be made hereafter on the part of Spain for justice to be done ever in these paaticulars. But that if slackness were used here, they would be laid up in the deck, and would serve for materials (this was the very word) of future and final discontentments. Now as the humour and design of some may carry them toward troubling of the waters, so I know your lordship's both nature and great place require an appeasing them at your hands. And I have not presumed to say this little, out of any mind at all, that I may have to meddle with matters so far above me, but out of a thought I had that I was tied in duty to lay thus much under your lordship's eye. Because I know and consider of whom I heard that speech, and with how grave circumstances it was delivered.*[u]

t They had insulted Gondomar for hurting a little boy as he was riding; and seven of them, found guilty, were condemned to six months imprisonment and a fine of £500 each.

u Bacon's Letters, Speeches, &c. published by Dr. Birch, 8vo, 1763, p. 178.

Too fatally for Sir Walter, and injuriously for his own character with posterity, was James infatuated with the Spanish alliance, not to comply in the most implicit manner with Gondomar's exaction. No sooner was Ralegh re-committed to the Tower, than the chancellor and other commissioners frequently met and examined him.[x] Much deliberation appears to have ensued respecting the manner of bringing him to execution; and it was at last resolved to sacrifice him to Spain, in a manner which has justly excited the abhorrence of all succeeding ages. The sentence passed fifteen years ago, the tacit conviction of the injustice of which then stopped its execution, was now to be enforced; and what is very remarkable, an act of *hostility* against Spain now drew down the execution of that sentence, which had been passed for *collusion and amity* with that country. After a deliberation and examination which lasted two months, we find the following letter addressed by the commissioners to the king, relative to the form and manner of proceeding against Sir Walter.

'*May it please your most excellent Majesty!*

'According to your commandment given unto us, we have, upon divers meetings and conferences, considered what form and manner of proceeding

[x] Camden's Annals of James I.

against Sir Walter Ralegh might best stand with your Majesty's justice and honour, if you shall be pleased that the law shall pass upon him.

'And, first, we are of opinion, that Sir Walter Ralegh being attainted of high treason, which is the highest and last work of law, he cannot be drawn in question judicially for any crime or offence since committed. And, therefore, we humbly present two forms of proceeding to your Majesty.

'The one, that together with the warrant to the lieutenant of the Tower (if your Majesty shall so please) for his execution, to publish a narrative in print of his late crimes and offences. Which (albeit your Majesty is not bound to give an account of your actions in these cases to any, but only to God alone), we humbly offer to your Majesty's consideration, as well in respect of the great effluxion of time since his attainder, and of his employment by your Majesty's commission, as for that his late crimes and offences are not yet publicly known.

'The other form (whereunto, if your Majesty so please, we rather incline) is, that where your Majesty is so renowned for your justice, it may have such a proceeding as is nearest to legal proceeding. Which is, that he be called before the whole body of your council of state, and your principal judges, in your council-chamber, and that some of the nobility and gentlemen of quality be admitted to be present to hear the whole proceeding, as in like cases hath been used. And after the assembly of all these, that some

of your Majesty's counsellors of state that are best acquainted with the case, should openly declare, that this form of proceeding against Sir Walter is holden for that he is civilly dead. After this, your Majesty's counsel learned to charge his acts of hostility, depredation, abuse, as well of your Majesty's commission, as of your subjects under his charge, impostures, attempt of escape, and other his misdemeanours. But for that which concerns the French, wherein he was rather passive than active, and without which the charge is complete, we humbly refer to your Majesty's consideration how far that shall be touched. After which charge so given, the examinations read, and Sir Walter heard, and some to be confronted against him, if need be, then he is to be withdrawn and sent back; for that no sentence is, or can be, given against him. And after he is gone, then the lords of the council and judges to give their advice to your Majesty; whether in respect of these subsequent offences, upon the whole matter, your Majesty, if you so please, may not with justice and honour give warrant for his execution upon his attainder.

'And of this whole proceeding, we are of opinion, that a solemn act of council should be made, with a memorial of the whole presence. But before this be done, that your Majesty may be pleased to signify your gracious direction herein to your council of state. And that your counsel learned, before the calling of Sir Walter, should deliver the

heads of the matter, together with the principal examinations touching the same, wherewith Sir Walter is to be charged unto them; that they may be perfectly informed of the true state of the case, and give their advice accordingly.

'All which, nevertheless, we, in all humbleness, present and submit to your princely wisdom and judgment; and shall follow whatsoever it shall please your Majesty to direct us herein, with all dutiful readiness. Your Majesty's

'Most humble and faithful servants,' &c.[y]

*York-house, this* 18*th of October* 1618.

Soon after the date of this letter, a privy seal was sent to the judges to order immediate execution. In consequence of this they held a conference on the 23*d* of October, how prisoners attainted of treason and set at liberty should be brought to execution; and resolved that Sir Walter ought to be brought to the bar, by habeas corpus to the lieutenant of the Tower, and there demanded of, if he could say any thing why execution should not be awarded? A privy seal therefore came to the King's-bench, commanding that court to proceed against him according to law.[z] And on the following day (October 24*th*) Camden informs us, Sir Walter was given to understand by the commis-

[y] Bacon's Letters, &c. as before, p. 181.

[z] Hutton's, Crook's, and Rolle's Reports.

sioners, that it was the king's intention he should be put to death, and that therefore he should prepare himself.[a]

To increase the misery of his situation, Ralegh laboured at this time under a severe fever. Yet, on Wednesday, the 28th of October, he was taken out of bed, at eight in the morning, in an ague fit, and conveyed from the Tower by writ of habeas corpus to the King's-bench bar at Westminster. The proceedings there are thus described in the State Trials, from authentic manuscripts in the Harleian and other collections.

THE BRINGING SIR WALTER RALEGH TO EXECUTION.

'Sir Walter Ralegh, by virtue of his Majesty's writ of habeas corpus, was brought to the King's-bench bar at Westminster, where he was proceeded against as follows.

'First, the writ, delivered to the judges by Sir Walter Apsley, was read, purporting, that whereas Sir Walter being long before, in the presence of divers noble personages, legally convicted of high treason at Winchester, was then and there adjudged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

'After the reading of this writ, Mr. Attorney (Mr. Henry Yelverton) spake in effect thus:—"My

[a] Annals of James I, October 24, 1618.

lords, Sir Walter Ralegh, the prisoner at the bar, was, fifteen years since, convicted of high treason, by him committed against the person of his Majesty and the state of this kingdom, and then received the judgment of death, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. His Majesty of his abundant grace hath been pleased to shew mercy upon him till now, that justice calls unto him for execution. Sir Walter Ralegh hath been a statesman, and a man who in regard of his parts and quality is to be pitied. He hath been as a star at which the world hath gazed; but stars may fall, nay they must fall when they trouble the sphere wherein they abide. It is, therefore, his Majesty's pleasure now to call for execution of the former judgment, and I now require order for the same.'

'Then Mr. Fanshaw, clerk of the crown, read the record of the conviction and judgment, and called to the prisoner to hold up his hand; which he did. Then was the prisoner asked, what he could say for himself why execution should not be awarded against him?

'*Sir Walter Ralegh.* My lords, my voice is grown weak by reason of my late sickness, and an ague which I now have, for I was now brought hither out of it.

'*Lord Chef-justice.* Sir Walter, your voice is audible enough.

'*Sir Walter.* Then, my lord, all that I can say is this, that the judgment which I received to

die so long since, I hope it cannot now be strained to take away my life; for that since it was his Majesty's pleasure to grant me a commission to proceed in a voyage beyond the seas, wherein I had power, as marshal, on the life and death of others, so, under favour, I presume I am discharged of that judgment. For by that commission I departed the land and undertook a journey, to honour my sovereign and to enrich his kingdom with gold, of the ore whereof this hand hath found and taken in Guiana; but the voyage, notwithstanding my endeavour, had no other success but what was fatal to me, the loss of my son and wasting of my whole estate.

'*Being about to proceed, he was by the Lord Chief-justice interrupted.*

'*Lord Chief-justice.* Sir Walter Ralegh, this which you now speak touching your voyage is not to the purpose, neither can your commission anyway help you; by that you are not pardoned; for by words of a special nature, in case of treason, you must be pardoned, and not implicitly. There was no word tending to pardon in all your commission, and therefore you must say something else to the purpose, otherwise we must proceed to give execution.

'*Sir Walter Ralegh.* If your opinion be so, my lord, I am satisfied, and so put myself on the mercy of the king, who I know is gracious; and, under favour, I must say, I hope he will be pleased

to take commiseration upon me. As concerning that judgment which is so long past, and which I think here are some could witness, nay his Majesty was of opinion, that I had hard measure therein.

'*Lord Chief-justice.* Sir Walter Ralegh you must remember yourself; you had an honourable trial, and so were justly convicted; and it were wisdom in you now to submit yourself, and to confess your offence did justly draw upon you that judgment which was then pronounced against you; wherefore I pray you attend what I shall say unto you. I am here called to grant execution upon the judgment given you fifteen years since; all which time you have been as a dead man in the law, and might at any minute have been cut off, but the king in mercy spared you. You might think it heavy if this were done in cold blood, to call you to execution; but it is not so; for new offences have stirred up his Majesty's justice, to remember to revive what the law hath formerly cast upon you. I know you have been valiant and wise, and I doubt not but you retain both these virtues, for now you shall have occasion to use them. Your faith hath heretofore been questioned, but I am resolved you are a good Christian, for your book, which is an admirable work, doth testify as much. I would give you counsel, but I know you can apply unto yourself far better than I am able to give you; yet will I, with the good neighbour in the gospel, (who finding one in the way wounded and distressed, poured oil into his wounds and refreshed him), give

unto you the oil of comfort, though, in respect that I am a minister of the law, mixed with vinegar. Sorrow will not avail you in some kind: for were you pained, sorrow would not ease you; were you afflicted, sorrow would not relieve you; were you tormented, sorrow could not content you; and yet the sorrow for your sins would be an everlasting comfort to you. You must do as that valiant captain did, who perceiving himself in danger, said, in defiance of death, *death thou expectest me, but maugre thy spite I expect thee.* Fear not death too much, nor fear death too little; not too much, lest you fail in your hopes; not too little, lest you die presumptuously. And here I must conclude with my prayers to God for it, and that he would have mercy on your soul.

'*And so the Lord Chief-justice ended with these words*,—Execution is granted.

'*Sir Walter Ralegh.* My lord, I desire thus much favour; that I may not be cut off suddenly, for I have something to do in discharge of my conscience, and something to satisfy his Majesty in, something to satisfy the world in, and I desire I may be heard at the day of my death. And here I take God to be my judge, before whom I shall shortly appear, I was never disloyal to his Majesty; which I will justify where I shall not fear the face of any king on earth. And so I beseech you all to pray for me.'[b]

[b] Hargrave's State Trials, Vol. VIII, Appendix, N°. IV.

Sir Walter was now delivered into the custody of the sheriffs of Middlesex, and conveyed to the Gatehouse near the Palace-yard. Although the king was in Hertfordshire, the warrant for his execution was produced, already signed, as soon as the sentence was passed. Dispensing with the former judgment of hanging, drawing, and quartering, it required only that he should be beheaded; and may be seen at length in the Appendix, (N°. XIX.)

If Osborn's observation be just, that *King James so far participated of the humour of a pusillanimous prince, as to pardon any sooner than those injured by himself*,[c] we shall not be surprised that some petitions said to have been presented to him in Sir Walter's behalf, as well as solicitations from persons of distinction, proved ineffectual. The queen appears to have been in the number of these intercessors, by the following extant letter from her to the marquis of Buckingham; which was probably written, however, earlier than the period which at present engages our attention.

ANNA, R.

'*My kind Dogge*,

'If I have any power or credit with you, I pray you let me have a trial of it at this time, in dealing sincerely and earnestly with the king, that Sir Walter Ralegh's life may not be called in question. If you do it so that the success answer my expect-

[c] Miscell. Works, II, 107.

ation, assure yourself that I will take it extraordinary kindly at your hands; and rest one, that wisheth you well, and desires you to continue still as you have been, a true servant to your master.

'*To the Marquis of Buckingham.*'[d]

Few have acted so difficult a part in the last scene of life, with the spirit and firmness which Ralegh displayed in it. The inefficacy of the intercessions with the king in his behalf proved no disappointment to him; he no longer expected, he seemed not to wish for, mercy. To some of his friends who deplored his misfortunes, he said, with calmness, *the world itself is but a larger prison, out of which some are daily selected for execution.* Between his return from the King's-bench and his execution, which took place the next morning, he is supposed to have written the following verses, as well as answer to certain imputations against him.

Cowards may fear to die; but courage stout,
Rather than live in snuff, will be put out.

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MY PILGRIMAGE.

Give me my scallop-shell of quiet,
My staff of faith to walk upon,
My scrip of joy, immortal diet,
My bottle of salvation,

[d] Copied from the original by Archbishop Sancroft and Dr. Charles Lyttleton, bishop of Carlisle, (see Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa, 8vo, 1781, I, 94, and Dalrymple's Memorials of James I, small 8vo, 1766, p. 78.)

My gown of glory, hope's true gage,
And thus I'll take my pilgrimage.

Blood must be my body's balmer,
While my soul, like quiet palmer,
Trav'leth tow'rd the land of heaven;
No other balm will here be given.

Over the silver mountains
Where spring the nectar fountains,
(There will I kiss
The bowl of bliss,)
And drink mine everlasting fill
Upon every milken hill;
My soul will be a-dry before,
But after, it will thirst no more.

I'll take them first,
To quench my thirst,
And taste of nectar's suckets,
At those clear wells
Where sweetness dwells,
Drawn up by saints in crystal buckets.

Then by that happy blestful day,
More peaceful pilgrims I shall see,
That have cast off their rags of clay,
And walk apparell'd fresh like me.

And when our bodies and all we
Are fill'd with immortality,
Then the bless'd parts we'll travel,
Strow'd with rubies thick as gravel,
Ceilings of diamond, sapphire flowers,
High walls of coral, pearly bowers.

From thence to heaven's bribeless hall,[e]
Where no corrupted voices brawl,
No conscience molten into gold,
No forg'd accuser bought or sold,
No cause deferr'd, no vain-spent journey,
For there Christ is the King's attorney;
Who pleads for all without degrees,
And he hath angels, but no fees.

And when the twelve grand million jury,
Of our sins, with direful fury,
Against our souls black verdicts give,
Christ pleads his death, and then we live.

Be thou my speaker, taintless pleader!
Unblotted lawyer! true proceeder!
Thou would'st salvation e'en for alms,
Not with a bribed lawyer's palms.

And this is mine eternal plea
To him that made heav'n, earth, and sea;
That, since my flesh must die so soon,
And want a head to dine next noon,
Just at the stroke, when my veins start and spread,
Set on my soul an everlasting head!

Then am I ready, like a palmer fit,
To tread those bless'd paths which before I writ.
Of death and judgment, heav'n and hell,
Who oft doth think, must needs die well.

[e] His imagination, filled with the forms and proceedings of criminal justice, transfers these images to a higher tribunal.—

WRITTEN IN HIS BIBLE.

E'en such is time! which takes in trust
Our youth, our joys, and all we have;
And pays us naught but age and dust,
Which, in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wander'd all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days.
And from which grave, and earth, and dust,
The Lord shall raise me up, I trust.[f]

SIR WALTER RALEGH'S ANSWER TO SOME THINGS AT HIS DEATH.

'I. I did never receive any direction from my Lord Carew to make my escape, nor did I ever tell Stukely any such thing.

'II. I did never name my Lord Hay and my Lord Carew to Stukely in other words or sense, than as my honourable friends, among other lords.

'III. I did never shew unto Stukely any letter wherein there was £10,000 named, or any one pound; only I told him, that I hoped to procure the payment of his debts in his absence.

'IV. I never had commission from the French king.

'V. I never saw the French king's hand or seal in my life.

[f] Sundry Collections, and Birch's Works of Ralegh, II, 398, 400.

'VI. I never had any plot or practice with the French, directly or indirectly, nor with any other prince or state unknown to the king.

'VII. My true intent was to go to a mine of gold in Guiana; it was not feigned, but it is true, that such a mine there is within three miles of S^t. Thome.

'VIII. I never had in my thought to go from Trinidado, and leave my companies to come after to the Savage island, as Hatby Fearn hath falsely reported.

'IX. I did not carry with me 100 pieces; I had with me about 60, and brought back nearly the same number.

'X. I never spake to the French Mannourie any one disloyal word, or dishonourable speech of the king. Nay, if I had not loved the king truly, and trusted in his goodness somewhat too much, I know that I had not now suffered death.

'These things are most true, as there is a God, and as I am now to appear before his tribunal seat! where I renounce all mercy and salvation, if this be not truth.

'At my death,

'WALTER RALEGH.'[h]

[h] See the end of his Apology for his last voyage to Guiana, and Birch's Works of Ralegh, II, 280.

About nine o'clock on Thursday morning, the 29th of October, (the day of the lord mayor's inauguration, and which, perhaps, was never before attended with a public execution), Sir Walter Ralegh[1] was conducted by the sheriffs to a scaffold erected in Old Palace yard. His countenance was cheerful, he saluted the lords and gentlemen of his acquaintance who were present; and when proclamation for silence was made, he said, *I desire to be borne withal, for this is the third day of my fever; and if I shall shew any weakness, I beseech you to attribute it to my malady, for this is the hour in which it is wont to come.* He then directed himself toward a window where Lords Arundel, Northampton, Doncaster, and others sat, and proceeded, *I thank God of his infinite goodness, that he hath brought me to die in the light and not in darkness.* But, fearing he was not heard by them, he said he would strain his voice, because he wished them to hear him; upon which Lord Arundel and others came to the scaffold, where, when he had saluted them, he proceeded thus.[k]

[1] Oldys informs us, the knight *had on a wrought nightcap under his hat, a ruff band, a black wrought velvet nightgown over a hair-coloured sattin doublet, and a black wrought waistcoat, a pair of black cut taffety breeches, and ash-coloured silk stockings.* (p. 227.)

[k] Hargrave's State Trials, I, 229.

SIR WALTER RALEGH'S SPEECH ON THE SCAFFOLD.

'As I said, I thank God heartily that he hath brought me into the light to die, and hath not suffered me to die in the dark prison of the Tower, where I have suffered a great deal of misery and cruel sickness. And I thank God that my fever hath not taken me at this time, as I prayed God it might not, that I might clear myself of some accusations unjustly laid to my charge, and leave behind me the testimony of a true heart both to my king and country.

'There are two main points of suspicion that his Majesty, as I hear, hath conceived against me, and which, I conceive, have specially hastened my coming hither; wherein his Majesty cannot be satisfied, and which I desire to clear and resolve you of.

'One is, that his Majesty hath been informed I have had some plot with France; and his Majesty had some reasons to induce him thereunto. One reason, that his Majesty had to conjecture so, was, that when I came back from Guiana, being come to Plymouth, I endeavoured to go in a bark to Rochel; which was, because I would fain have made my peace before I came to England. Another reason was, that upon my flight I did intend to fly to France for saving of my life, having had some terror from above.[1] A third reason was, the French

[1] Alluding to the reports he received from the court.

agent coming to me, and it was reported that I had commission from the king of France.

'But this I say. For a man to call God to witness to a falsehood at any time, is a grievous sin, and what shall he hope for at the tribunal-day of judgment? But to call God to witness to a falsehood at the time of death, is far more grievous and impious. A man that so doth cannot have salvation, for he hath no time for repentance; and what should I expect, that am now going to render an account of my faith? I do therefore call God to witness, as I hope to be saved, and as I hope to see him in his kingdom, which I hope will be within this quarter of this hour, I never had any commission from the French king, nor never saw the French king's hand-writing in all my life; neither knew I that there was an agent, nor what he was, till I met him in my gallery, at my lodging, unlooked for. If I speak not true, O Lord, let me never enter into thy kingdom!

'The second suspicion was, that his Majesty hath been informed, that I should speak dishonourably and disloyally of him. But my accuser was a base Frenchman, a runagate fellow, one that hath no dwelling, a kind of a chemical fellow, one that I knew to be perfidious. For being by him drawn into the action of freeing myself at Winchester, in which I confess my hand was touched, he, being sworn to secrecy overnight, revealed it the next morning.

'But in this I speak now, what have I to do with kings? I have nothing to do with them, neither do I fear them. I have only now to do with my God, in whose presence I stand. Therefore to tell a lie, were it to gain the king's favour, were vain. Therefore, as I hope to be saved at the last day, I never spake dishonourably, disloyally, or dishonestly, of his Majesty, neither to this Frenchman nor to any other, neither that I had ever a thought of ill of his Majesty in all my life. Therefore I cannot but think it strange, that this Frenchman, being so base and mean a fellow, should be so far credited as he hath been. I have dealt truly, as I hope to be saved, and I hope I shall be believed.

'I confess I did attempt to escape; I cannot excuse it, but it was only to save my life. And I do likewise confess I did dissemble and feign myself sick at Salisbury. But I hope it was no sin. For, the prophet David did make himself a fool, and suffered spittle to fall down upon his beard, to escape from the hands of his enemies, and it was not imputed unto him.[m] So what I did, I intended no ill, but to prolong time till his Majesty came, hoping for some commiseration from him.

'But I forgive this Frenchman, and Sir Lewis Stukely, with all my heart; for I have received the sacrament this morning of Mr. Dean of Westmin-

[m] 1 Samuel xxi, 13.

ster,[n] and I have forgiven all men. But that they are perfidious, I am bound in charity to speak, that all men may take heed of them.

'Sir Lewis Stukely, my keeper and kinsman, hath affirmed that I should tell him, my Lord Carew and my lord of Doncaster here, did advise me to escape. But I protest before God, I never told him any such thing! neither did the lords advise me to any such matter; neither is it likely I should tell any such thing to two privy counsellors; neither had I any reason to tell him, or he to report it; for, it is well known, he left me six, seven, eight, nine, and ten days together alone, to go whither I listed, while he rode about the country.

'Again, he accused me, that I should tell him, my Lord Carew and my Lord Doncaster would meet me in France, which was never my speech or thought.

'He farther accused me, that I should shew him a letter, whereby I did signify that I would give him £10,000 for my escape. But God cast my soul into everlasting fire, if I ever made him offer of £10,000 or £1,000! but indeed I shewed him a letter, that if he would go with me, there should be order taken for his debts when he was gone. Neither had I £1,000; for if I had had

[n] Dr. Robert Tounson, afterward bishop of Sarum. He attended Sir Walter in his last hours. See his letter on the subject, in this chapter.

so much, I could have made my peace better with it otherway than in giving it Stukely.

'Farther, when I came to Sir Edward Parham, who had been a follower of mine, who gave me good entertainment, he gave out, I had received some dram of poison in Sir Edward's house; when I answered, that I feared no such thing, for I was well assured of them in the house, and therefore wished him to have no such thought. Now God forgive him! for I do, and I desire God to forgive him. I will not only say God is the God of revenge, but I desire God to forgive him as I hope to be forgiven.

*Looking over his note of remembrance,* 'Well, thus far I have gone; a little more, and I will have done by and by.

'It was told the king I was brought perforce into England, and that I did not intend to come again; whereas Captain Charles Parker, Mr. Tresham, Mr. Leak, and divers others that knew how I was dealt withal, shall witness for me. For the common soldiers, which were 150, mutinied, and sent for me to come into the gun-room, for unto me they would not come. And there was I forced to take an oath, that I would not come into England till they would have me, or else they would cast me into the sea; and therewithal they drove me into my cabin, and bent all their force against me. After I had taken this oath, with wine and other things I drew the chiefest to desist, and at

length I persuaded them to go into Ireland. Then would they have gone into the north parts of Ireland, but I told them they were redshanks; and with much ado I persuaded them to go into the south parts of Ireland, promising to get their pardons; and was forced to give them £125 at Kinsale, to bring them home, otherwise I had never got from thence.

'There was a report that I meant not to go to Guiana at all, and that I knew not of any mine, nor intended any such matter, but only to get my liberty, which I had not the wit to keep. But it was my full intent to go for gold, for the benefit of his Majesty, myself, and those that went with me, with the rest of my countrymen. But he that knew the head of the mine, would not discover it when he saw my son was slain, but made himself away.

*Turning to the earl of Arundel,* 'My lord, being in the gallery of my ship, at my departure, I remember your honour took me by the hand, and said you would request me one thing; that was, whether I made a good voyage or bad, I should return again into England. Which I then promised, and gave you my faith I would.

'*And so you did (answered the earl) it is true they were the last words I spake unto you.*

'Another slander was raised of me, that I would have gone away from them and left them at Guiana. But there were a great many worthy men

that accompanied me alway, as my serjeant-major, George Ralegh, and divers others *(whom he named)* that knew my intent was nothing so.

'Also it hath been said, that I stinted them of fresh water. To which I answer, every one was, as they must be in a ship, furnished by measure and not according to their appetites; this course all seamen know must be used among them, and to this straight were we driven.

'Another opinion was, that I carried to sea 16,000 pieces; and that was all the voyage intended, only to get money into my hands, and that I had weighed my voyage before. As I shall answer it before God, I had not in all the world in my hands, or others to my use, either directly or indirectly, above £100! whereof, when I went I gave my wife about £45. But the error thereof came, as I perceive, there was entered £20,000, and but £4,000 in the surveyor's book; the rest had my hand to the bills for divers adventures. But I protest I had not a penny of money more than £100, as I hope to be saved!

'And these be the material points I thought good to speak of. I am now at this instant to render my account to God, and I protest, as I shall appear before him, this that I have spoken is true!

'Only I will borrow a little time more of Mr. Sheriff, for I may not detain him too long. And herein I shall speak of the imputation laid upon me that I should be a persecutor of my lord of Essex,

that I rejoiced in his death, and stood in a window overagainst him when he suffered, and puffed out tobacco in disdain of him. Whereas, God I take to witness, I shed tears for him when he died! And, as I hope to look God in the face hereafter, my lord of Essex did not see my face at the time of his death! for I was afar off in the armory, where I saw him, but he saw not me. I confess indeed I was of a contrary faction; but I knew my lord of Essex was a noble gentleman, and that it would be worse with me when he was gone. For I got the hate of those who wished me well before; and those that set me against him, afterward set themselves against me, and were my greatest enemies. And my soul hath many times been grieved, that I was not nearer him when he died; because, as I understood afterward, he asked for me at his death, to have been reconciled unto me.

'And now I entreat you all to join with me in prayer to the great God of heaven, whom I have grievously offended, being a man full of all vanity, and have lived a sinful life in all sinful callings; for I have been a soldier, a captain, a sea-captain, and a courtier, which are courses of wickedness and vice; that God would forgive me and cast away my sins from me, and that he would receive me into everlasting life. So I take my leave of you all, making my peace with God.'[o]

[o] I believe there is not a sentence in this speech, wherein any two copies of it, printed or MS. completely agree. The

Order was now given that the scaffold should be cleared, and Sir Walter prepared himself for his execution. His hat, money, and other trifles, he gave to some attendants who stood near him. When he took leave of his friends, he requested Lord Arundel to entreat the king that no writings defamatory of him might be published after his death; and concluded, *I have a long journey to go, and therefore I will take my leave.* Having taken off his gown and doublet, he asked the executioner to shew him the axe; which not being immediately complied with, he said, *I prithee let me see it, do'st thou think I am afraid of it?* He took hold of it, felt the edge, and smiling, said to the sheriff, *this is a sharp medicine, but it is a physician for all diseases.* He then went to all parts of the scaffold, and desired the company to pray God to assist and strengthen him in this severe trial. The executioner kneeling to ask his forgiveness, he laid his hand on his shoulder, and said he forgave him. Being asked which way he would lay himself on the block, he answered, *so the heart be right it is no matter which way the head lies;* and reclining with his face toward the east, the executioner spread his own cloak under him. After a short pause, he

endeavour here has been, to select, from the most authentic sources, the most probable language of the age. See the Harleian and other collections; Overbury's Arraignment of Ralegh; Ralegh's Remains; Oldys' Life; and Dr. Birch's Works of Ralegh.

gave the signal that he was ready, by lifting up his hand; and was beheaded at two strokes, without the least shrink or motion of his body. The extraordinary efflux of blood astonished the spectators, who were impressed with the idea that Sir Walter had vigour of constitution to have survived many more years, though already sixty-six.

The head, after being shewn on either side of the scaffold, was put into a red leathern bag, over which Sir Walter's gown was thrown, and the whole conveyed away in a mourning coach appointed by Lady Ralegh.[p] It was preserved by her in a case during the twenty-nine years which she survived her husband; and afterward with no less piety by their affectionate son Carew, with whom it is supposed to have been buried at West Horsley in Surry.[q] The body was interred in the chancel near the altar of S[t]. Margaret, Westminster.

[p] For the account thus far of Sir Walter's execution, see the above-mentioned pieces. In the Appendix (N°. XX.) will also be found a letter descriptive of the same from Mr. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart. preserved in the Harleian Collection, and now first published.

[q] Such a tradition prevails at Horsley, (formerly Carew's seat) in opposition to Anthony Wood's assertion, that he was buried in the same grave with his father. Oldys informs us he had seen a letter from William Nicholas, Esq. (then resident on that estate) *wherein that ingenious gentleman does verily believe, the head he saw dug up there in* 1703, *from the side of a grave where a Carew Ralegh had been buried, was that of Sir Walter Ralegh; there being no bones of a body to it, nor room for*

Dr. Robert Tounson, at that time dean of Westminster, and afterward bishop of Salisbury, attended Sir Walter in his last hours. A letter of his to a friend, descriptive of the knight's behaviour, has been preserved, and is here presented to the reader.

DR. TOUNSON TO SIR JOHN ISHAM, OF LAMPORT, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

*Westminster College, November* 9 1618.

'SIR—The last week was a busy week with me, and the week before that was more. I would gladly have writ unto you, but could find no time. Yet I hope you had the relation of Sir Walter Ralegh's death, for so I gave order, that it should be brought unto you.

*for any, the rest of that side of the grave being firm chalk.* While on the subject of Sir Walter's head, the following story occurs in Fuller and Osborn.

Mr. Edward Wiemark, a wealthy citizen, great newsmonger, and constant *Paul's walker,* hearing there of Sir Walter's death on the day he was beheaded, and remarking that his head would do very well on Sir Robert Naunton's shoulders, (then secretary of state), was informed against, and summoned to the privy council. Pleading that he intended no disrespect to Mr. Secretary, but spoke only in reference to the old proverb, that two heads are better than one, he was dismissed. Shortly afterward, when a contribution was raising to St. Paul's cathedral, Wiemark at the council table subscribed £100. Upon which the secretary remarked, *two hundred are better than one you know, Mr. Wiemark ;* which sum, between fear and charity, he subscribed.

'I was commanded by the lords of the council to be with him, both in prison and at his death, and so set down the manner of his death as near as I could. There be other reports of it, but that which you have from me is true. One Crawford, who was sometime Mr. Rodeknight's pupil, hath penned it prettily, and meaneth to put it to the press, and came to me about it, but I hear not that it is come forth.

'The sum of that which he spake at his death, you have, I suppose, already; when he never made mention of his offence for which he died (namely, his former treason) but only desired to clear himself of new imputations there mentioned. Privately he told me in prison, that he was charged to have broken the peace with Spain, but he put that he said out of the count of his offences, saving that he heard the king was displeased at it. For how could he break peace with him, who, within these four years, as he said, took divers of his men, and bound them back to back, and drowned them? And, for burning the town, he said it stood upon the king's own ground, and, therefore, he did no wrong in that.

'He was the most fearless of death that ever was known; and the most resolute and confident, yet with reverence and conscience. When I began to encourage him against the fear of death, he seemed to make so light of it that I wondered at him. And when I told him that the dear servants of God, in better causes than his, had shrunk back and trembled a little, he denied not; but yet gave God thanks

he never feared death, and much less then. For it was but an opinion and imagination, and the manner of death, though to others it might seem grievous, yet he had rather die so than of a burning fever. With much more to that purpose, with such confidence and cheerfulness, that I was fain to divert my speech another way; and wished him not to flatter himself, for this extraordinary boldness I was afraid came from some false ground. If it sprang from the assurance he had of the love and favour of God, of the hope of his salvation by Christ, and his own innocency, as he pleaded, I said he was a happy man. But if it were out of an humour of vain glory, or carelessness, or contempt of death, or senselessness of his own estate, he were much to be lamented, &c. For I told him, that heathen men had set as little by their lives as he could do, and seemed to die as bravely. He answered, that he was persuaded, that no man that knew God and feared him, could die with cheerfulness and courage, except he were assured of the love and favour of God unto him. That other men might make shews outwardly, but they felt no joy within; with much more to that effect, very christianly, so that he satisfied me then, as I think he did all his spectators at his death.

'After he had received the communion in the morning, he was very cheerful and merry; and hoped to persuade the world that he died an innocent man, as he said. Thereat I told him, that he should do well to advise what he said; men, in these days,

did not die in that sort innocent, and his pleading innocency was an oblique taxing of the justice of the realms upon him. He confessed justice had been done, and by course of law he must die; but yet I should give him leave, he said, to stand upon his innocency in the fact; and he thought both the king, and all that heard his answers, thought verily he was innocent for that matter.

'I then pressed him to call to mind what he had done formerly. And, though perhaps in that particular for which he was condemned, he was clear, yet for some other matter it might be he was guilty, and now the hand of God had found him out; and, therefore, he should acknowledge the justice of God in it, though at the hands of men he had but hard measure. And here I put him in mind of the death of my lord of Essex, how it was generally reported that he was a great instrument of his death, which, if his heart did charge him with, he should heartily repent and ask God forgiveness. To which he made answer as is in the former relation, and said, moreover, that my lord of Essex was fetched off by a trick, which he privately told me of.

'He was very cheerful that morning he died, eat his breakfast heartily, and took tobacco, and made no more of his death than if he had been to take a journey. And left a great impression in the minds of those that beheld him, insomuch that Sir Lewis Stukely and the Frenchman grow very odious.

'This was the news a week since, but now it is blown over, and he almost forgotten.'[a]

* * * * *

The universal distaste which prevailed for the intimate connection into which James was now labouring to enter with Spain, contributed to aggravate the injustice of this great man's catastrophe; and to render it a measure so odious with the public, that recourse to every plausible palliation appears to have been deemed expedient on the part of government. The wretched Stukely, whose end, as already related by Howell, proved his villainy, produced a pitiful vindication of his conduct, in a pamphlet adressed to the king,[b] in which his last petition is, *that his Majesty would be so gracious as to suffer a* Declaration *to come forth from the state, for the clearing of these matters, and farther satisfaction of the world.* Oldys stiles this production *a fomentation to supple the minds of the uneasy people,*

[a] This letter, said to be still preserved in the Isham family, was first copied from the original, and published by the celebrated Hearne (See Hemingford, Appendix to Preface, vol. i, N°. 15, p. clxxxi.) It has also been printed in Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa, II, 421.

[b] *To the King's most excellent Majesty, the humble Petition and Information of Sir Lewis Stukely, knt. vice-admiral of Devon, touching his own behaviour in the charge committed to him for the bringing up of Sir Walter Ralegh, and the scandalous aspersions cast upon him for the same,* 4°, 1618.

*that the sovereign unguent might enter more effectually*,[c] in allusion to the Declaration which the king afterward published in vindication of his own conduct. This piece will be found at length in the Appendix (N°. XXI). In an extant letter of Lord Bacon to Buckingham, dated November 22, 1618, he writes, *we have put the Declaration touching Ralegh to the press, with his Majesty's additions, which were very material, and fit to proceed from his Majesty*.[d] This sufficiently discovers the labour bestowed upon it, and it may only be farther necessary to remark here, that the authors have not neglected the advantage which they enjoyed, of culling a plausible tale from the superficial circumstances of the case.

I conclude the present chapter with part of a letter preserved in Rushworth's Collections, from a great minister of state (as he calls him, without giving us his name) to Mr. Cottington, at that time our agent in Spain. Should the reader still require a proof of the meanness and cruelty which attended the sacrifice of Sir Walter Ralegh to that court, this document may, perhaps, afford him a satisfactory one.

[c] *Good Mr. Cottington,*

'I doubt not but before these come to your hands, you will have heard of the receipt of all your

[c] Life of Ralegh, p. 220.

[d] Bacon's Letters, Speeches, &c. by Birch, p. 187.

former letters. These are in answer of your last of October 8th, wherein you advertise of the arrival of the Conde Gondomar at Lerma, and of his entertainment by that duke. It seemeth unto us here in England that he hath gone but very slowly in his journey, and divers (seeing how long time he hath spent in the way) do make conjecture that it proceedeth from the small affection that he judgeth to be there toward the effecting of the main business. Saying, if the ambassador were assured that his master did so really desire the speedy effecting thereof, as is pretended, he would have made more haste homeward; and that it hath not been sincerely intended, but merely used by that state as an amusement to entertain and busy his Majesty withal, and for the gaining of time for their own ends. And this is muttered here by very many; but I hope we shall ere long receive such an account from thence of their proceedings as will give sufficient satisfaction.

'For my own part, I must confess I am yet well persuaded of their intentions. For, if there be either honour, religion, or moral honesty, in them, the protestation and professions which I have so often heard them make, and you likewise daily advertise hither, are sufficient to persuade a man that will not judge them worse than infidels, to expect sincere dealing in the business. And whensoever I shall perceive that they go about to do otherwise, I must confess myself to have been deceived, as I shall ever be, on the like terms while I deal with inmost care. But, withal, I

shall judge them the most unworthy and perfidious people of the world; and the more for that his Majesty hath given them so many testimonies of his sincere intentions toward them, which he daily continueth, as now of late, by the causing Sir Walter Ralegh to be put to death chiefly for the giving them satisfaction. Whereof his Majesty commanded me to advertise you, and concerning whom you shall by the next receive a Declaration, shewing the motives which induced his Majesty to recal his mercy, through which he had lived this many years a condemned man.

'In the meantime, I think it fit, that to the duke of Lerma, the confessor, and the secretary of state, you do represent his Majesty's real manner of proceeding with that king and state; and how, for the advancing of the great business, he hath endeavoured to satisfy them in all things. Letting them see, how, in many actions of late of that nature, his Majesty hath strained upon the affections of his people; and especially in this last concerning Sir Walter Ralegh, who died with a great deal of courage and constancy, and, at his death, moved the common sort of people to much remorse, who all attributed his death to the desire his Majesty had to satisfy Spain. Farther, you may let them know, how able a man Sir Walter Ralegh was to have done his Majesty service, if he should have been pleased to employ him. Yet, to give them content, he hath not spared him, when, by preserving him, he might have given great satisfaction to his subjects, and had at

command, upon all occasions, as useful a man as served any prince in Christendom. And, on the contrary, the king of Spain is not pleased to do any thing which may be so inconvenient unto him as to lessen the affections of his people, or to procure so much as murmuring or distractions among them; and, therefore, it is to be expected that, on his part, they answer his Majesty at least with sincere and real proceeding, since that is all they are put to, the difficulties and hazards being indeed on his Majesty's side.

'And, truly, I should think it fit that, not by way of commination, but as it were out of zeal to the peace and amity betwixt these two crowns, you did intimate to the duke, and the other ministers, how impossible you held it to have peace long continued betwixt their Majesties, if, in this business, wherein so much hath been professed, there should be found any indirectness. But herein you must be cautious and temperate. For, as on the one side you and I well know that this stile most persuades with them, so, on the other side, the decency and *buén termine* that is to be observed betwixt great princes, will hardly admit of threats or revenge for a wooing language. But this I know falleth into so discreet a hand, that I little fear the handsome carriage of it; and I hope that before these letters arrive with you, we shall hear from you in such a stile, that this advice of mine shall be of no use.'[e]

* * * *

[e] Rushworth's Historical Collections, folio, 1682, I, 9.

## CHAPTER X.

*Sir Walter's History of the World....His letter to Sir R. Cotton....Anecdote....His miscellaneous writings....Poetry....Music....His patronage of learning....The charge of impiety....Mr. Hume's observations upon him....His character....His zeal in friendship....Conspiracy....Moral to be derived from his story....His person....His wife....His son Walter....His son Carew....His Instructions to his son and to posterity.*

THE rapid succession of conspicuous circumstances in the life of a celebrated public character, does not alway afford us the leisure which we require for the due notice of other objects of biographical attention. Thus, although in the preceding chapters we have accompanied Sir Walter Ralegh, as far as obtainable records have enabled us, through the eventful part which he supported on the theatre of public life, some attention is still due to his more private hours, as well as to other points of biographical interest, before we close the scene; and which perhaps could less conveniently have been afforded them in any other place.

Of the manner in which many of these hours were employed, particularly those of his long imprisonment, we have very conspicuous testimonies in such of Sir Walter's writings as have been committed to the press; among which the most extensive is his History of the World. It was published, as hath been already observed, in the year 1614; and the eleventh and last edition, which is the best, was edited by Oldys, in folio, in 1736. Beginning with the creation, Sir Walter has, in this work, given us the flower of recorded story to the end of the second Macedonian war; and having reviewed the three first monarchies of the world, he leaves Rome triumphant in the fourth, about a century and a half before the birth of our Saviour, comprehending a period of nearly 4000 years. Ranking in that class of historians who prefer the exercise of judgment in selection to that of genius in adorning, his industry and penetration are highly conspicuous, and his stile is the best model of his age. His superior manner of treating Greek and Roman story, has justly excited regret that he has devoted so many pages to Jewish and Rabinical learning, and that he has not permitted himself a greater latitude in those more fascinating subjects. If, in this great work, he has, to use the words of an eminent critic, *produced an historical dissertation, but seldom risen to the majesty of history*, still the variety of its learning, and the elegance of its stile, are sufficient to secure him a dis-

tinguished rank among the benefactors to our literature.[a]

The following letter, of which the original is preserved in the Cotton library[b], has been supposed by Dr. Thomas Smith to bear reference to a continuation of this history.

'*Sigebert's Chronicles..Vincentis Speculum Historiale..Gervasius Tilesberius..Philip Bergomus..Natalis Talipes..Amandus Zirexens..Caius Londinius..John Major de Gestis Scotorum..Lessabius of Henault..Alex. Evesham..Brute Book..Chronicle of Teuxberry..Peter de Icham.*

'*Sir Robert Cotton,*

'If you have any of these old books, or any manuscripts wherein I may find any of our British antiquities, if you please to lend them me for a little while, I will safely restore them, and think myself much beholden unto you; or, if you have any old French history, wherein our nation is mentioned, or any else, in what language soever.

Your poor friend,

W. RALEGH.'

In addition to this, a story is related, that a few days previously to his death, Ralegh sent for Walter Burre, who printed his history, and asking him how

[a] See the Rambler, N°. 122, Hume's Appendix to James I, and the sensible Mitford, in his History of Greece, Chap. VII.

[b] Julius, C. 3.

the work had sold, received for answer, *so slowly that it had undone him.* Upon which Sir Walter brought from his desk a continuation of the work to his own time, and, throwing it into the fire, said to Burre, *the second volume shall undo no more, this ungrateful world is unworthy of it.*[c]

It must be remembered, however, that there is no satisfactory authority for the truth of this anecdote; and it appears more probable that the letter to Sir Robert Cotton alludes to Ralegh's Breviary of the History of England, or to some other work which he never finished, than to the History of the World; a reference to the last lines of which, already quoted,[d] may perhaps confirm the reader in this supposition.

The subjects on which Sir Walter exercised his pen, are not less various than the characters he united in himself; and beside the large historical work already noticed, he has bequeathed us many shorter pieces on miscellaneous topics. When we view his actions, we are astonished at the number of his writings; viewing his writings, we wonder he found time for so much action.

Three years previously to the Spanish invasion, and when the designs of that court became apparent, he is supposed to have written Notes of Direction for the Defence of the Kingdom, and the best and most orderly Retreat of an Army, which were pre-

[c] Winstanley's England's Worthies, 8vo, 1660, p. 256-7.
[d] See Chap. VII.

sented in manuscript to the privy-council. In this paper, after dwelling on the employment of our shipping in the first instance, he observed, that if, in the absence or deficiency of the same, the enemy effected a landing, it were better, by clearing the country of provisions, and temporising, to endeavour to gain strength and weaken the enemy, than, in the usual manner, to hazard all by a confused and disorderly descent to oppose the first landing. Thomas Digges, Esq. muster-master-general of Queen Elizabeth's forces in the Low countries, opposed this, and other positions, in a pamphlet which he published.[e] This produced a rejoinder, also attributed to Sir Walter, but not published till many years afterward, intituled a Military Discourse, whether it be better for England to give an invader present battle, or to temporise and defer the same.[f]

Of the greater part of Sir Walter's miscellaneous pieces, sundry collections[g] have been made at different periods; among which, that published by Dr. Birch, in two volumes, octavo, in the year 1751, is justly the best esteemed. In addition to the tracts

[e] Intituled a Brief Discourse of the best Orders for Repulsing Foreign Forces, &c. reprinted under the title England's Defence, a treatise against Invasion, folio, 1680.

[f] Published by Nathaniel Booth, of Gray's Inn, Esq. 8vo, 1734, and comprising the whole of the controversy. See Oldy's Life of Ralegh, p. 174.

[g] Intituled Essays, Discourses, Remains, &c. of Sir Walter Ralegh.

relative to Guiana, and some smaller pieces presented to the reader in this work, it contains;

Maxims of State, a compendium of government; first published under the title, The Prince, Lond. 4to, 1642.

The Cabinet Council; containing the chief arts of empire and mysteries of state discabineted, in political and polemical aphorisms, grounded on authority and experience, and illustrated with the choicest examples and historical observations; first published by the celebrated Milton,[h] in 8vo, 1658.

The Prerogative of Parliaments in England, proved in a dialogue between a counsellor of state and a justice of peace; dedicated to King James, and first printed at Middleburg, 4to, 1628.

A Discourse, touching a match propounded by the Savoyan, between the Lady Elizabeth and the prince of Piedmont; written in 1611.

A Discourse, touching a marriage between Prince Henry of England and a daughter of Savoy; written in 1611.

A Discourse, touching a war with Spain, and of the protecting of the Netherlands; addressed to James I, and first published, with two more discourses, by his grandson, Philip Ralegh, Esq. 8vo, 1702.

A Discourse, of the original and fundamental cause of na-

[h] Milton prefixed this address to the reader.—*Having had the MS. of this treatise, written by Sir Walter Ralegh, many years in my hands, and finding it lately by chance among other books and papers; upon reading thereof, I thought it a kind of injury to withold longer the work of so eminent an author from the public. It being both answerable in stile to other works of his already extant, as far as the subject will permit, and given me for a true copy by a learned man at his death, who had collected several such pieces.*—JOHN MILTON.

tural, arbitrary, necessary, and unnatural war; first printed in his Essays, 8vo, 1650.

A Discourse, of the invention of ships, anchors, compass, &c. the first natural war, the several uses, defects, and supplies of shipping, the strength and defects of the sea-forces of England, France, Spain, and Venice; together with the five manifest causes of the sudden appearing of the Hollanders; an unfinished piece, first printed in his Essays, as above.

Obeservations concerning the royal navy and sea-service. Dedicated to Prince Henry, and first printed in his Essays, as above.

Observations touching trade and commerce with the Hollander, and other nations, presented to King James; wherein is proved that our sea and land commodities serve to enrich and strengthen other countries against our own; printed in 12mo, 1653.[i]

An Introduction to a breviary of the History of England, with the reign of King William I, entitled the Conqueror; published in 8vo, 1693, by Dr. John Moore (afterward bishop of Ely) from the MSS. of Archbishop Sancroft, with a preface, by Dr. Moore.[k]

The Seat of Government, upheld by the two great pillars thereof, viz. civil justice and martial policy, which are framed out of husbandry, merchandise, and gentry of

[i] It is questionable whether this piece be the production of Sir Walter Ralegh. See Oldys' Life, p. 180, and Smith on Wool.

[k] Notwithstanding the doctor's entire conviction that this piece is the *genuine issue* of Sir Walter, I have found reason at least to hesitate in my opinion, from having compared it with *the first part of the History of England, by Samuel Danyel, London, printed by Nicholas Okes, dwelling near Holborn-bridge,* 1612, in quarto.

this kingdom; a fragment; first printed in his Remains, 12mo, 1651.

Observations concerning the causes of the magnificency and opulency of cities; a fragment, also printed in his Remains.

The Sceptic; founded on the doctrine of Pyrrho, and printed in his Remains, as above.

These pieces are marked by those comprehensive and penetrating thoughts, that lively imagination, mature and exact judgment, which distinguish the productions of the knight. An evil destiny appears, however, to have attended the writings of this great man, as well as his actions. Even at the hands which presented the above pieces to the public, they cannot be said to have received that justice which a due attention to them might have afforded; and what is more to be regretted, it seems highly probable that many of Sir Walter's writings are yet unpublished. David Llyod, in his State Worthies, informs us that *Mr. Hamden, a little before the wars, was at the charge of transcribing 3,452 sheets of Ralegh's MSS. as the amanuensis himself told him; who had his close chamber, his fire and candle, with an attendant to deliver him the originals, and take his copies, as fast as he could write them.*[1] I need not add, that the extant writings of Sir Walter, at that time unpublished, with which we are acquainted, appear to bear a small proportion to this quantity.

[1] Whitworth's edit. (2 vols. small 8vo, 1766) I, 565.

The following is a list of the pieces known and ascribed to the knight, yet omitted by Dr. Birch, of which I have been able to collect the titles;

A Report of the truth of the fight about the Isles of Azores, already noticed in chap. III of this work.

A Relation of Cadiz action in the year 1596, printed at length in chap. V of this work.

A Discourse of tenures which were before the Conquest, namely, knight service, soccage, and frankalmoign; and the effect of those tenures, wards, reliefs, heriots, escuage or warfaring by tenure, reservations of rent or victuals, and provisions or purveyors in the Saxon times; that the same estates in the soil of this land were due unto the subjects by birthright of their ancestors, the inhabitants of the land, before Duke William's time, namely, to have land in fee-simple, freeholders, copyholders, customary tenants and villains, before the year 1066; together with the resemblances or disresemblances of those, in outlandish, ancient, or modern, estates; printed in Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa, from Tanner's MSS. in the Bodleian library.

A Discourse how war may be made against Spain and the Indies; referred to in the Discourse touching a war with Spain, but not known either in print or MS.

Memorial touching the port Dover, already noticed in chap. V of this work.

Treatise of the West Indies; referred to in the dedication to the first Guiana voyage, (See chap. IV) but not known either in print or MS.

Considerations of a voyage to Guiana; MS. in the British Museum, (See Ayscough's Catalogue, p. 692, Nº. 1133).

Journal of Second voyage to Guiana; MS. in the Cotton library (Titus, B. VIII), being notes from which the Apology was written.

The present State of Spain, with a most accurate account of his Catholic Majesty's power and riches; also the names and worth of the most considerable persons in that kingdom; MS. noticed by Anthony Wood, and in Shirley's Life of Ralegh.

The present State of things, as they now stand between the three kingdoms, France, England, and Spain. MS. in the Harleian library (XXXVIII, B. 3.)

A Dialogue between a Jesuit and a Recusant, shewing how dangerous are their principles to Christian princes; N°. III of Genuine Remains of Sir Walter Ralegh, subjoined to an Abridgement of his History of the World, by Philip Ralegh, Esq. only grandson to Sir Walter, 8vo, 1700.

A Discourse of the words Law and Right; MS. in the Ashmolean library.

A Treatise of the Soul; MS. in the same library.

A Treatise of Mines, and the Trial of Minerals; MS. noticed by Anthony Wood.

A Collection of Chemical and Medicinal Receipts; MS. in the British Museum, (See Ayscough's Catalogue, p. 492, N°. 359).

A discourse of the Spaniards' Cruelties to the English in Havanna; MS. formerly in the Collection of Henry earl of Clarendon.

A Treatise of the Art of War by Sea; referred to, as unfinished, in the History of the World, (Lib. v, chap. I, sect. 6), but not known either in print or MS.

A Discourse of a Maritimal Voyage, and the passages and incidents therein, addressed to Prince Henry; refer-

red to in the Observations concerning the Royal Navy and Sea service, but not known either in print or MS.[m]

From the specimens in our hands, it is plain that had Sir Walter made poetry a serious study, the attainment of excellence was in his power. Among the contemporary criticisms of Puttenham, he finds, *for ditty and amorous ode, Sir Walter Ralegh's vein most lofty, insolent, and passionate.*[n] It is to be regretted that no collection was formerly

[m] Certain publications not entitled to a place in the above list, yet to which Sir Walter's name hath been appended, are noticed here. Such are,

A notable and memorable Story of the cruel war between the Carthaginians and their own mercenaries, 4to, 1647; a republication of the History of the World. Lib. V, chap. 2, &c.

Wars with foreign princes dangerous, 8vo, 165–, by Sir Robert Cotton; to which a head of Sir Walter was at first improperly prefixed.

The dutiful Advice of a loving Son to his aged Father; printed in Ralegh's Remains, as written by him, but more probably a libel upon him by one of his enemies (See Birch's Works of Ralegh, Prolegomena, p. cv.)

The Life and Death of Mahomet, the Conquest of Spain, together with the Rising and Ruin of the Saracen Empire, 12mo, 1637; an abstract, or translation of an abstract made in Spanish, of part I, book 1, and part II, book 1, of Miguel de Luna's History of the Loss of Spain, pretended to be translated from the Arabic of Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique.

[n] The Art of English Poesy, contrived into three books, 4to, 1589, p. 51.

made of the knight's poetry, as the authority on which some pieces are ascribed to him is questionable. Those, however, which are presented to the reader in the first, third, and ninth chapters of this work, have generally been looked upon as his productions. To them might perhaps be added, *The Advice*, *The Lover's Maze*, and *Farewel to the Court*, three pieces to be found in old printed collections, subscribed W. R.; *Erroris Responsio*, *Answer to the Lie*, and other pieces in the Ashmolean library.° His fame resteth on a more solid and durable basis, than that of diminutive poetry; and the mind which could achieve the History of the World, might well be allowed the recreation of a few idle rhymes.

Among the verses inscribed by Spenser, at the end of his Fairy Queen, to several great men of Elizabeth's court, are the following, *To the noble and valorous knight Sir Walter Ralegh.* Oldys infers from them, that Sir Walter wrote a poem, intituled Cynthia, in praise of the queen; a conclusion, in which, perhaps, few readers will think him warranted.

° Dr. Birch and others have likewise ascribed to Sir Walter the poem beginning, *Go soul the body's guest*, and suppose it to have been written by the knight shortly before his execution. It, however, appeared in Davison's *Poetical Rapsodie*, ten years before that time; and is also printed among the works of Joshua Sylvester, folio, 1641, p. 652.

To thee who art the summer's nightingale,
Thy sovereign goddess' most dear delight,
Why do I send this rustic madrigal
That may thy tuneful ear unseason quite?
Thou only fit this argument to write,
In whose high thoughts pleasure hath built her bow'r,
And dainty love learnt sweetly to indite.
My rhimes I know unsavoury and sour,
To taste the streams, that like a golden show'r
Flow from thy fruitful head, of thy love's praise,
Fitter perhaps to thunder martial store
When so thee list thy lofty muse to raise.
Yet till that thou thy poem wilt make known,
Let thy fair Cynthia's praises be thus rudely shewn.

Osborn has preserved the following epitaph on Cecil, which, he adds, *came from so smart a pen in the king's sense, that he said he hoped the author would die before him.*[p] Shirley also repeats it in his Life of Ralegh, and asserts, *he was assured upon very good grounds*, that the knight wrote it.

Here lies Hobinol, our pastor, while e'er,
Who once in a quarter our fleeces did shear.
To please us, his cur he kept under clog,
And was ever after both shepherd and dog.
For oblation to Pan his custom was thus,
He first gave a trifle, then offered up us.
And through his false worship such power did gain
As kept him o' th' mountain and us on the plain;

[p] Miscellaneous Works, II, 140.

Where many a horn-pipe he tun'd to his Phyllis,
And sweetly sung Walsingham to's Amaryllis,
Till Atropos c— him, a p— on the drab,
For, spite of his tar-box, he died of the s—.[q]

The sister art of music also appears to have had her share of Sir Walter Ralegh's devotion. Oldys observes that an old book by an Oxonian, intituled, *The Praise of Music*,[r] is dedicated to him *not without propriety*; adding he had met with hints of the knight's proficiency in the art, and was of opinion that Spenser's expression—

'Yet emuling my pipe,' &c.

already quoted in chap. III, is to be understood in a literal sense.[s]

[q] Shirley adds, *if the reader desire a key to these verses, he may meet with it in Osborn's Memoirs, who yet, for all his intelligence, hath not informed us that his mistress' name was Walsingham.* Osborn also gives us another epitaph on Cecil.—

Here lies, thrown for the worms to eat,
Little bossive Robin that was so great;
Not Robin Goodfellow, nor Robin Hood,
But Robin the incloser of Hatfield wood.
Who seem'd as sent from ugly fate
To spoil the prince and rob the state,
Owning a mind of dismal ends,
As traps for foes and tricks for friends.
But now in Hatfield lies the old fox,
Who stank while he liv'd, and died of the p—.

[r] Black letter, 8vo, 1580.

[s] Life of Ralegh, p. 34.

With a mind thus highly cultivated, we naturally expect to find Sir Walter feeling an interest in every expansion and improvement of art or science. The ravages of time, however they may have impaired our information, have not been able to disappoint our expectations in this particular; and many testimonies still exist, of the esteem in which the knight was held in his day, abroad as well as at home, as a patron of science and improvement. In addition to the works inscribed to him by his countrymen, some of which have occurred to notice in these pages, the learned Martin Bassaniere of Paris, and Julius Cæsar, a citizen of Rome, dedicated to Sir Walter, the former a History of the Discovery of Florida, which he published in French,[t] the latter a book intituled *Columbeados*, alluding, probably, to his American expeditions.[u] James Morgues, a French painter, appears to have experienced his patronage during his residence in London;[x] and at the time of his greatest troubles, Sir Walter contributed £50 toward improving the infant Bodleian library.[y] Of his encouragement of

[t] L'Histoire Notable de la Floride, &c. 8vo, Paris, 1586. The dedication is followed by verses in Latin and French on Sir Walter.

[u] Appendix, N°. I and II.

[x] Ibid, N°. II.

[y] Sir Thomas Bodley's letter to Dr. Thomas James, the first keeper of his library, in Reliquiæ Bodleianæ, published by Hearne, 8vo, 1703, p. 133.

Hakluyt, the naval historian, we have several testimonies;[z] and, lastly, it may be noticed in this place, that the knight was a member of a society of antiquaries existing in his time.[a]

After this short survey of Sir Walter's proficiency in, and patronage of, learning, it is incumbent on us to examine, more fully than we have hitherto had opportunity, into such aspersions as, like other distinguished characters, he has not escaped; and which, if substantiated, would obscure the merit in which, at a general view, he appears to posterity. Among these, not the least conspicuous, is the reproach of impiety already hinted at.

About the time of Sir Walter's birth, some gentlemen in France and Italy, desirous of disguising their opposition to christianity by a more honourable appellation than than that of athiests, assumed the name of deists. The distinguishing character

[z] Hakluyt's preface to the first edition of his Voyages, Sir Walter's History of the World, Lib. II, c. 3, sect. 8; and App. N°. II.

[a] Oldys' Life of Ralegh, p. 130. In the Appendix to a History of the Inventors of Arts and Sciences, 12mo, 1686, we read that we owe the serviceable model of our modern shipbuilding, to the invention or direction of the knight; to which purpose, probably, is a grant by Queen Elizabeth, preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, intituled, *A Warrant to Sir Walter Ralegh for 200 oakes, to be taken in Sir Francis Eaglesfield's woods.*

of this sect, subsequently so greatly enlarged, and distinguished also by the appellation of free-thinkers, is, not to profess any particular form or system of religion; but only to acknowledge the existence of a God, and to follow the light and law of nature, rejecting revelation and opposing christianity. Rare as these philosophers were in England during the lifetime of Sir Walter Ralegh, he has not escaped the suspicion of being one of them, though the fact has never been proved; while the spleen of Father Parsons (as we have seen in chap. III) on account of the knight's probable instrumentality in framing Queen Elizabeth's proclamation against popish seminaries abroad, went so far as to charge him with the propagation of athiesm.

The character of that jesuit is too well known, to allow of the attachment of much credit to his assertion; especially in a case like this, where his bigotry was so likely to prevail. Ill fame is, however, too adhesive to allow such an opinion, once started, to be speedily forgotten; and it is but too natural, that, in the adversity of his fortune, this aspersion on the knight should be remembered, as we have seen it was at his trial. The circumstance, too, of Sir Walter's Sherborne estate being formerly the property of the church, and assigned to Queen Elizabeth from the see of Salisbury, is supposed to have contributed not a little to this scandal.

*Sir Walter Ralegh*, says Osborn, *was the first*,

*as I have heard, who ventured to tack about, and sail aloof from the beaten track of the schools; who, upon the discovery of so apparent an error as a torrid zone, intended to proceed in an inquisition after more solid truths. Till the mediation of some, whose livlihood lay in hammering shrines for this superannuated study, possessed Queen Elizabeth that such doctrine was against God, no less than her father's honour; whose faith, if he owned any, was grounded upon school divinity. Whereupon she chid him; who was, by his own confession, ever after branded with the title of an athiest, though a known assertor of God and providence.*[b]

The ill-defined and unsupported state of this imputation, is, of itself, an argument that it originated in calumny and misrepresentation. But, under the difficulties in which we meet it at this remote period, what more striking vindication of the knight shall we seek, in addition to the manner in which he died, than that his writings contain no trace of such opinions. On the contrary, his History of the World, in particular, breathes a strong and genuine spirit of piety. I know no better conclusion to the inquiry, than the words of Sewell on the occasion, in the tragedy which he has formed on Ralegh's story.

[b] Preface to Miscellany of sundry Essays, Paradoxes, &c. in Miscellaneous Works, Vol. I.

'But 'tis the curse and fashion of the times—
When prejudice and strong aversions work,
All whose opinions we dislike are athiests.
Now 'tis a term of art, a bug-bear word,
The villain's engine and the vulgar's terror.
The man who thinks and judges for himself,
Unsway'd by aged follies, rev'rend errors,
Grown holy by traditionary dulness
Of school-authority, he is an atheist.
The man who, hating idle noise, preserves
A pure religion seated in his soul,
He is a silent, dumb, dissembling atheist.

* * * * * *

——————So men judge at home,
Who never trac'd a providence at sea,
And saw his wonders in the mighty deep.
An athiest-sailor were a monstrous thing,
More wonderful than all old Ocean breeds.
But I will witness for my Ralegh's faith;
Yes, I have seen him when the tempest rag'd,
When from the precipice of mountain-waves
All hearts have trembled at the gulph below,
He, with a steady, supplicating look,
Display'd his trust in that tremendous pow'r,
Who curbs the billows, and cuts short the wings
Of the rude whirlwind in its midway course,
And bids the madness of the waves to cease.'[c]

In examining the aspersions which have been cast on the character of Sir Walter Ralegh, our at-

[c] Act I, Scene 1.

tention is naturally attracted by a late celebrated writer, who, but too plainly discovers himself to have been a countryman of King James; and that he felt that monarch's conduct to the knight to have been a material blemish in his reign. With a just sense of Mr David Hume's merit on many of the subjects which have engaged his attention, I feel bound, on the present occasion, to avow my opinion, that the picture he has drawn of the reign of James I, is, to say the least of it, *a bad likeness*. My concern, however, is only with that part of it which bears reference to Sir Walter Ralegh, whom I find Mr. Hume to have placed in a light peculiarly unfavourable; and as, from the popularity of his history, the knight's character may have suffered with posterity, by his representation, an inquiry into the justice of it may not be deemed improper in this place.

It will be found by the foregoing pages, and the authorities to which they refer, that Mr. Hume, in his History of Elizabeth, hath not alway been accurate in his incidental notices of Ralegh; a circumstance which may easily have arisen from his not being at the pains, as a general historian, of entering minutely into the life of an individual.[d] In

[d] Thus, Mr. Hume insinuates, that Sir Walter came to the Tower *on purpose* to feast his eyes with Essex's death; whereas, he attended in his capacity of captain of the guard, and shed tears on the occasion. Again, Mr. Hume writes very severely on Sir Walter's first voyage to Guiana, and refers to p. 584 of

the first chapter, however, of the reign of her successor, he is bold enough to inform us, *it appears from Sully's Memoirs, that Ralegh secretly offered his services to the French ambassador.* From which Mr. Hume presumes, that, *meeting with a repulse,* Ralegh had recourse to the Flemish minister; yet he confesses, that on his trial there appeared no proof, nor any circumstance which could justify the knight's condemnation.[c]

Referring the reader to Sir Walter's introduction to Sully, in 1601, (noticed in chap. V), I transcribe the following passage, the only one in Sully's Memoirs which could lead Mr. Hume to his conclusion. I then request him to recollect Ralegh's enmity to Spain, and to decide for himself how far the historian was warranted in his imputation regarding France; also, whether this passage afford not a strong argument against the plot with Spain, of which the knight was accused.

*I now only wanted to be as well acquainted with the Spanish councils, as I was with those of Britain and the North. Or, in other words, I wanted only to know what were the real designs of that crown; what propositions she had already made to the king of England; how they had been received; and, finally, what steps she intended to take for the ac-*

Camden's Annals in Kennet's History for his authority; on referring to which page, the reader will find that the antiquary authorizes no such severity, &c.

[c] Hume's Hist. Eng. 8vo edition, 1791, Vol. VI, p. 9.

*complishment of her desires. For barely to understand that the king of Spain sought to detach England from France, and the Low countries, was knowing nothing, or at most very little. It was suspected that Spain meditated something of much greater importance. This might be conjectured from the information which I had already received from the canon at Canterbury; and it appeared so much the less to be neglected, because Aërsens and Barneveldt both at the same time affirmed the certainty of it, the one at Paris, the other at London. I therefore used my utmost endeavours to come at the truth. What I was told by my Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Ralegh, was conformable to this information. But what made the greatest impression upon me was, that the earl of Northumberland, whom I had gained by the offer of a considerable pension, under the name of a present, with great secrecy one night, when I was going to bed, sent his secretary to acquaint me with the following particulars, &c.*[f]

Sir Walter's last voyage to Guiana, his return and death, are related by Mr. Hume at the beginning of the 48th chapter of his history, in a spirit of prejudice against the knight sufficient to fix his doom with every superficial reader. In a note,[g] however, at the end of the volume, we are informed, that *some of the facts in this narrative which*

[f] Sully's Memoirs, Ann. 1603.

[g] Note I, vol. VI, p. 555.

*seem to condemn Ralegh, are taken from the king's Declaration,* which Mr. Hume concludes to be of *undoubted credit.* This assertion must astonish every reader, who reflects on the circumstances under which that paper was written. Would it not, on the contrary, be more just to assert, that Mr. Hume's use of it invalidates the whole of his narrative?

Yet the historian stops not here, but proceeds to inform us in the same note, that the most material facts in his narrative *are confirmed, either by the nature and reason of the thing, or by Sir Walter's own Apology, and his Letters.* This he is at much pains to prove by seventeen arguments; which, as the facts are said to be *thus* confirmed, I have, for the satisfaction of such readers as may feel curiosity on the subject, examined at length in the Appendix,[h] and have there, I hope, sufficiently proved, that they are the offspring of prejudice, superficial information on the subject, or wilful misrepresentation of it.

It is more difficult to appreciate with justice the character of Sir Walter Ralegh, than to decry it upon a view thus prejudised and confined. For, alas! no sooner do we attempt a more *intimate* inquiry into his life and actions, than here, as on many other occasions, we are astonished at the barrenness of the subject so important in biography, the detail of private life; and are speedily compelled to con-

[h] N°. XXII.

fess, that, however interesting his public transactions, the character under our contemplation, has been handed down to us in considerable ambiguity.

At this distance of time, perhaps a complete delineation of his character would be impossible. It is, however, sufficiently clear, that he possessed a mind of the most vigorous and versatile activity. His understanding was naturally sound and masculine, but he was unhappily too ready to surrender it to the dominion of a wild and romantic imagination. It will not be easily credited, that he was so profligate and hardened an impostor, as to persevere to the moment of his death, in asserting the existance of the mine in Guiana, without a firm conviction of the truth of his protestations. If chargeable, he is chargeable with credulity, and not with deliberate fraud.

*Sir Walter Ralegh*, says Naunton, *was one that, it seems, fortune had picked out on purpose of whom to make an example, and to use as her tennis-ball, thereby to shew what she could do; for she tossed him up of nothing, and to-and-fro to greatness, and from thence down to little more than to that wherein she found him, a bare gentleman.*[1]

Soldier, seaman, statesman, scholar, poet, and philosopher, we may challenge a similar instance in modern ages of that union of characters, more frequent among the ancients, which distinguished Sir

[1] Fragmenta Regalia.

Walter Ralegh; a union, on the excellence of which much might be written, were we not silenced by reflecting on the inutility of our remarks, since the corresponding union of talent and opportunity instanced in Ralegh can very rarely occur. Master of every accomplishment requisite to defend a state in war, as well as to adorn it in peace, a warlike reign was safety to him, a peaceful one destruction. He affords a memorable example, that a martial spirit, under an active and adventurous prince, shall find honour and emulation; but if the prince be of a contrary character, his unfashionable virtue, unless it can mould itself to occasions, shall be criminal, and his courage of less security than cowardice.

To the intrepid spirit of enterprise, so intimately connected with his ardent fancy, this country is eternally indebted, since he may justly be regarded as the father of our American colonization. In difficulty and peril, his valour and firmness were ever unimpeached; yet his pretended attempt to murder himself when arrested for treason, and his fictitious sickness in his last journey to London, were artifices inconsistent with a steady and exalted courage. On the whole, his character appears to have been mixed and ambiguous, his temper restless and impatient, his mind ill-constituted for repose.

Amid the various interests of various favourites in the long reign of Elizabeth, no man was less immersed by the smiles of the court in the luxuries of it; no one converted its frowns to greater utility,

being animated by them to enterprise the most honourable.

*Though he gained much at the court,* says Naunton, *he took it not out of the exchequer, or merely out of the queen's purse, but by his wit, and by the help of the prerogative. For the queen was never profuse in delivering out of her treasure, but paid most and many of her servants part in money and the rest with grace; which, as the case stood, was then taken for good payment.*[k]

That he could never condescend to court the people by the usual arts, is noticed by Lord Burleigh, in a breath with Essex's affectation of popularity, among his precepts to his son Cecil. *Seek not,* he writes, *to be Essex, shun to be Ralegh.*[l] He was never a favourite with the people till after his trial. The hasty and sanguine violence of his manner, may possibly have been ill-calculated to conciliate benevolence or favour. The injustice and cruelty of his sentence, however, soon made his cause universally popular; and, a martyr to the weakness and timidity of his sovereign, he hath filled an ample space in the eye of posterity.

In addition to instances already noticed in the cases of Mr. Udall and Sir Richard Greenville, of the knight's zeal in the cause of friendship, we may presume many remain unrecorded. Having told Queen

[k] Fragmenta Regalia.

[l] Birch's Life of Ralegh, p. 18.

Elizabeth he had a favour to beg of her, *when, Sir Walter*, said her Majesty, *will you cease to be a beggar? When your gracious Majesty ceases to be a benefactor*, replied the gallant knight.[m] A farther instance of this zeal occurs in the following letter from him, to Mr. (afterward Sir) Michael Hicks, secretary to Lord Burleigh.

'*Worthy Mr. Michael*,

'I am most earnestly to entreat you for this gentleman, Captain Spring, that, partly for love, partly for honest consideration, you will farther him with my lord-treasurer for a debt of £300 which her Majesty doth owe him. It hath been long due, and he hath good warrant for it. Beside, he hath served her Majesty very long, and hath received many wounds in her service. These reasons, delivered by a man of your utterance, and having his good angel at your elbow to instruct you, I doubt not but it will take good and speedy effect.——— I never wrote unto you for any man, or in any matter, wherein you shall more bind me unto you, than for

[m] Oldys' Life of Ralegh, p. 59. Lord Bacon has preserved two more *bon mots* of Sir Walter. He said of Queen Elizabeth's ladies of the bed-chamber, *they are like witches, can do harm but no good*: And, when a certain lean nobleman grew fat upon his marriage, and a person observed this was contrary to most married men, *there is no beast*, said Sir Walter, *if you take it from the common and put it into the several, but will wax fat* (Apophthegms 33, and 250.)

this bearer. And so, not doubting of your assured friendliness, I leave you to God, and remain,

Your most assured, loving friend

W. RALEGH.'

*From Sherborne, July 12.*

'*P. S.* Always remember you must deal conscionably for my sake, and I will requite it.'[8]

On that remarkable incident in Sir Walter's history, commonly called his conspiracy, I am inclined to concur with Dr. Welwood in the opinion he has given us in his ingenious notes[9] upon Wilson's history. Though James forgot the death of his mother, he seems never to have forgiven the enemies of Essex; of which Cecil and Ralegh were probably both aware, but took contrary measures to avoid his resentment. While Cecil maintained his correspondence with James, Ralegh trusted in the justice of his conduct; and, content with the favour of Elizabeth, which he enjoyed to her death, took no steps to conciliate her successor. Knowing Cecil to have been at least equally concerned with himself in the fall of Essex, his great mind could perhaps not brook the distinction made by their new master on his accession; especially when heightened by the

[8] Collins' Baronetage, 8vo, 1720, II, 56. Strype received the letter from Cecil's descendants. See Oldys' Life of Ralegh, p. 69, note c.

[9] Complete History of England, II, 663.

frowns of Cecil upon his once-intimate friend. With a temper impatient of injuries, and unequal, notwithstanding his excellent qualities, to a reverse of fortune like this, Sir Walter was thus probably brought acquainted with others, discontent like himself, though of different religions and interests; and, perhaps, more conversations than one might arise relative to recourse to foreign powers to amend their fortunes, and even Arabella Stuart's name be mentioned by Ralegh as one who had a near title to the crown.

That he ever entered into the designs imputed to him at his trial, no person of competent judgment, at that time or since, hath believed. It is much more probable, that the malice of his enemies effected his ruin, by taking advantage of the people's terror and indignation, and connecting a pretended with a real plot; a purpose in which they were highly favoured by the knight's unfortunate intimacy with Lord Cobham, the brother of Brooke.

In a word, singular talents, with great success in their application, gained Sir Walter the distinction which might have been expected in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; not, however, as might likewise have been expected, without an host of opposition amid the various interests of her court. Although fortunate enough to combat that host with considerable success, yet a mighty favourite of both the monarchs in the reigns in which he lived, was not sacrificed by the former of them without a memor-

able impression upon the latter. In the reign of the second, a weak prince, the ascendency which the party adverse to him had gained by intrigue, founded in policy to a criminal extreme, was able to bring him to a legal trial for high-treason, and even to condemn him for the crime without proof of guilt. Too timorous either to execute him unjustly, or to allow his innocence and grant his freedom, that monarch made him suffer more than death by his long imprisonment. Released at last, in the hope that his country should be benefited by his experience and his spirit of enterprise, the failure of his expedition caused him to be sacrificed by a mean and corrupt court, to a foreign power, holding an absolute ascendant in the councils over the true interests of the nation.

As no tale is without its moral, so a useful lesson may be derived from Sir Walter's story. When we feel inclined to repine at our destination in this life, and to complain of the hardships and disappointments we suffer, let us reflect on the ill fate of Ralegh's talents and exertions, with claims so greatly superior to what the generality of us can pretend to. The comparison will probably convince us, that his case was harder than ours; and his firmness, retained to the last, may serve as a great and useful example to us under inferior difficulties.

By the paintings extant of Sir Walter Ralegh, his stature was about six feet, and his person well proportioned. *He had, in the outward man*, says

Naunton, *a good presence, in a handsome and well-compacted person, a strong natural wit, and a better judgment, with a bold and plausible tongue, whereby he could set out his parts to the best advantage.*[p] His profusion in dress, on particular occasions, was perhaps in conformity with the custom of his age. We are told that, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, he possessed a suit of clothes beset with jewels, to the value of £60,000;[q] and the jesuit Drexellius informs us, that the precious stones on his court-shoes, exceeded 6,600 pieces of gold in value.[r]

Elizabeth, the only wife of Sir Walter, appears, by an extant portrait of her, to have been a lady of considerable beauty. She is supposed to have been about eighteen years younger than the knight, and she survived him twenty-nine years.[s] Two sons, Walter and Carew, are the only fruits of this marriage with which posterity are acquainted. Her strong and faithful attachment to her husband

[p] Fragmenta Regalia. Of the engravings of Sir Walter, that by Vertue in 1735, from an original then in the possession of the Elwes family, Sir Walter's descendants, is the finest and most characteristic; it has, therefore, been copied for the present work. Houbraken's engraving, though better known, is far inferior, and appears to me to have been taken from a full length, at present in the collection at Burleigh-house, near Stamford.

[q] Oldys' Life of Ralegh, p. 145.

[r] Trismegistus Christianus, Duaci 8vo, 1633, p. 469.

[s] Oldys' Life of Ralegh, p. 145, 239.

through life, it appears was confirmed by her not entering again into wedlock after his death.

Walter was born in 1594,[t] and killed at twenty-three years of age, as we have seen, at S^t. Thome. At the age of twenty he was obliged to fly the kingdom, on account of a duel in which he had been engaged ;[u] and, in the skirmish in which he lost his life, he appears to have behaved with great bravery.

It is related, that, on the recommendation of Camden, Sir Walter entrusted the celebrated Ben Johnson with his elder son's education. The master's rigour was such, that the pupil determined, by one of his vices, to free himself from his severity. Sir Walter abhorred drunkenness, a state in which Johnson was too frequently found. One day when, intoxicated, he had fallen into a sound sleep, Walter sent him, in a large basket, to his father, and the porters informed the knight, *their young master had sent home his tutor.*[x]

Carew was born in 1604-5, educated at Wadham college, Oxford, and came to court about five years after his father's death, under the patronage of the earl of Pembroke. King James disliking him, and saying *he appeared to him like the ghost of his father*, the earl advised him to travel till the king's death,

[t] See Chapter III.

[u] See Chapter VII.

[x] Oldys' MSS. from Mr. Oldisworth. See Censura Literaria, I, 94.

which took place about a year afterward. Mr. Ralegh then petitioned parliament to be restored in blood. But, when his petition had been twice read in the house of lords, King Charles sent for him, received him kindly, and told him, that in his father's reign he had, for a consideration of £10,000, promised the earl of Bristol (formerly Sir John Digby) to secure his title to Sherborne against Sir Walter Ralegh's heirs; therefore, unless he resigned all right to that estate, he could not pass the bill for his restoration. The inconveniences attending his situation, promises of preferment, &c. induced the friendless and fortuneless Carew to submit to the king's will. An act was passed for his restoration, Sherborne was settled on the earl of Bristol, and a pension of £400 a-year granted for his life to Mr. Ralegh after the death of his mother, who received that sum for her life in lieu of jointure.[r]

He married Lady Philippa, relict of Sir Antony Ashley, a rich young widow, by whom he had two sons and three daughters. Before the year 1635, he was made one of the gentlemen of the king's privy-chamber; and represented Surry-boroughs in parliament, at least twice, during Cromwell's usurpation. In 1651, a committee being held for the sale of delinquents' estates, and the earl of Bristol being fled about the same time to France, Mr. Ralegh stated his case to the committee, and it was ordered to be

[r] See Appendix, N°. XIII.

reported to the house, with the addition, that *they conceived him a fit object of their mercy* About the same time he drew up his Brief Relation of his father's troubles, and addressed it to the parliament. His case and petition were, however, laid aside; for what reason, does not appear.

By the favour of General Monk, he was made governor of Jersey in 1659. At the restoration of Charles II, his Majesty would have conferred some personal honour upon him, but he declined it, *in the hope of something better.* The king, therefore, knighted his elder son Walter, who did not long survive the honour. Mr. Carew Ralegh died in 1666, and was buried, with his father's head in his coffin, at West Horsley, in Surry, where he had a seat. Sir Henry Wotton calls him *a gentleman of dexterous abilities,* and honourable mention is made of him by other writers; *but far, God wot,* says Anthony Wood, *was he from his father's parts, either as to the sword or pen.*[z]

Sir Walter Ralegh's Instructions to his Son, and to Posterity, are, perhaps the fittest conclusion with which I can dismiss the present work. They will bring the reader acquainted with the knight's opinions on a few of the ordinary subjects of common life; and instruction on these subjects comes peculiarly well recommended, from one of his experience.

[z] Oldys' Life of Ralegh, p. 171, 230.

## SIR WALTER RALEGH'S INSTRUCTIONS TO HIS SON, AND TO POSTERITY.

### CHOICE OF FRIENDS.

'There is nothing more becoming any wise man, than to make choice of friends; for by them thou shalt be judged what thou art. Let them, therefore, be wise and virtuous, and none of those that follow thee for gain. But make election rather of thy betters than thy inferiors, shunning alway such as are poor and needy. For if thou givest twenty gifts, and refuse to do the like but once, all that thou hast done will be lost, and such men will become thy mortal enemies. Take also special care, that thou never trust any friend or servant, with any matter that may endanger thine estate; for so shalt thou make thyself a bond-slave to him that thou trustest, and leave thyself alway to his mercy. And, be sure of this, thou shalt never find a friend in thy young years, whose conditions and qualities will please thee after thou comest to more discretion and judgment; and then all thou givest is lost, and all wherein thou shalt trust such a one will be discovered. Such, therefore, as are thy inferiors will follow thee but to eat thee out, and when thou leavest to feed them, they will hate thee; and such kind of men, if thou preserve thy estate, will alway be had.

And if thy friends be of better quality than thyself, thou mayest be sure of two things; the first, that they will be more careful to keep thy counsel, because they have more to lose than thou hast; the second, they will esteem thee for thyself, and not for that which thou dost possess. But if thou be subject to any great vanity or ill, (from which I hope God will bless thee) then therein trust no man; for every man's folly ought to be his greatest secret. And although I persuade thee to associate thyself with thy betters, or at least with thy peers, yet remember alway that thou venture not thy estate with any of those great ones that shall attempt unlawful things, for such men labour for themselves and not for thee; thou shalt be sure to part with them in the danger, but not in the honour; and to venture a sure estate in present, in hope of a better in future, is mere madness. And great men forget such as have done them service, when they have obtained what they would, and will rather hate thee for saying thou hast been a means of their advancement, than acknowledge it.

I could give thee a thousand examples, and I myself know it and have tasted it in all the course of my life. When thou shalt read and observe the stories of all nations, thou shalt find innumerable examples of the like. Let thy love, therefore, be to the best, so long as they do well; but take heed that thou love God, thy country, thy prince, and thine own estate, before all others. For the fancies

of men change, and he that loves to-day, hateth to-morrow; but let reason be thy school-mistress, which shall ever guide thee aright.

### CHOICE OF A WIFE.

The next and greatest care ought to be in the choice of a wife. And the only danger therein, is beauty, by which all men in all ages, wise and foolish, have been betrayed. And though I know it vain to use reasons or arguments to dissuade thee from being captivated therewith, there being few or none that ever resisted that witchery; yet I cannot omit to warn thee, as of other things which may be thy ruin and destruction. For the present time, it is true, that every man prefers his fantasy in that appetite before all other worldly desires, leaving the care of honour, credit, and safety, in respect thereof. But remember, that though these affections do not last, yet the bond of marriage dureth to the end of thy life; and, therefore, better to be borne withal in a mistress, than in a wife. For when thy humour shall change, thou art yet free to choose again, (if thou give thyself that vain liberty). Remember, secondly, that if thou marry for beauty, thou bindest thyself all thy life for that, which perchance will never last nor please thee one year; and when thou hast it, it will be to thee of no price at all, for the desire dieth when it is attained, and the affection

perisheth when it is satisfied. Remember, when thou wert a sucking child, that then thou didst love thy nurse, and that thou wert fond of her; after a while thou didst love thy dry nurse, and didst forget the other; after that thou didst also despise her; so will it be with thee in thy liking in elder years.

And therefore, though thou canst not forbear to love, yet forbear to link; after a while thou shalt find an alteration in thyself, and see another far more pleasing than the first, second, or third love. Yet I wish thee, above all the rest, have a care thou dost not marry an uncomely woman for any respect; for comeliness in children is riches, if nothing else be left them. And if thou have care for thy races of horses and other beasts, value the shape and comeliness of thy children before alliances or riches. Have care therefore of both together; for if thou have a fair wife, and a poor one, if thine own estate be not great, assure thyself that love abideth not with want; for she is the companion of plenty and honour. For I never yet knew a poor woman exceeding fair, that was not made dishonest by one or other in the end. This Bathsheba taught her son Solomon, *favour is deceitful, and beauty is vanity;* she saith farther, *that a wise woman overseeth the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness.*

Have therefore evermore care, that thou be beloved of thy wife, rather than thyself besotted on her; and thou shalt judge of her love by these two

observations. First, if thou perceive she have a care of thy estate, and exercise herself therein; the other, if she study to please thee, and be sweet unto thee, in conversation without thy instruction, for love needs no teaching nor precept. On the other side, be not sour or stern to thy wife; for cruelty engendereth no other thing than hatred. Let her have equal part of thy estate while thou livest, if thou find her sparing and honest; but what thou givest after thy death, remember that thou givest it to a stranger, and most times to an enemy. For he that shall marry thy wife, will despise thee, thy memory, and thine, and shall possess the quiet of thy labours, the fruit which thou hast planted, enjoy thy love, and spend with joy and ease what thou hast spared and gotten with care and travail. Yet alway remember, that thou leave not thy wife to be a shame unto thee after thou art dead, but that she may live according to thy estate; especially if thou hast few children, and them provided for. But howsoever it be, or whatsoever thou find, leave thy wife no more than of necessity thou must, but only during her widowhood. For if she love again, let her not enjoy her second love in the same bed wherein she loved thee, nor fly to future pleasures with those feathers which death hath pulled from thy wings; but leave thy estate to thy house and children, in which thou livedst upon earth while it lasted. To conclude; wives were ordained to continue the generation of men, not to transfer them, and di-

minish them, either in continuance or ability; and therefore thy house and estate, which liveth in thy son, and not in thy wife, is to be preferred.

Let thy time of marriage be in thy young and strong years; for believe it, ever the young wife betrayeth the old husband, and she that had thee not in thy flower will despise thee in thy fall, and thou shalt be unto her but a captivity and sorrow. Thy best time will be toward thirty. For as the younger times are unfit, either to chuse or to govern a wife and family, so if thou stay long, thou shalt hardly see the education of thy children, which being left to strangers, are in effect lost. And better were it to be unborn, than ill-bred; for thereby thy posterity shall either perish, or remain a shame to thy name and family. Farthermore, if it be late ere thou take a wife, thou shalt spend thy prime and summer of thy life with harlots, destroy thy health, impoverish thy estate, and endanger thy life; and be sure of this, that how many mistresses soever thou hast, so many enemies thou shalt purchase to thyself; for there never was any such affection, which ended not in hatred or disdain. Remember the saying of Solomon, *there is a way which seemeth right to a man, but the issues thereof are the wages of death;* for howsoever a lewd woman please thee for a time, thou wilt hate her in the end, and she will study to destroy thee. If thou canst not abstain from them in thy vain and unbridled times, yet remember that thou sowest on

the sands, and dost mingle thy vital blood with corruption, and purchasest diseases, repentance, and hatred only. Bestow, therefore, thy youth so, that thou mayst have comfort to remember it when it hath forsaken thee, and not sigh and grieve at the account thereof. While thou art young thou wilt think it will never have an end; but behold, the longest day hath its evening, and that thou shalt enjoy it but once, that it never turns again. Use it therefore as the spring time, which soon departeth, and wherein thou oughtest to plant and sow all provisions for a long and happy life.

### FLATTERERS.

Take care thou be not made a fool by flatterers, for even the wisest men are abused by these. Know, therefore, that flatterers are the worst kind of traitors; for they will strengthen thy imperfections, encourage thee in all evils, correct thee in nothing, but so shadow and paint all thy vices and follies, as thou shalt never, by their will discern evil from good, or vice from virtue. And because all men are apt to flatter themselves, to entertain the additions of other men's praises is most perilous. Do not therefore praise thyself, except thou wilt be counted a vain-glorious fool, neither take delight in the praises of other men, except thou deserve it, and receive it from such as are worthy and honest,

and will withal warn thee of thy faults; for flatterers have never any virtue, they are ever base, creeping, cowardly, persons. A flatterer is said to be a beast that biteth smilling; it is said by Isaiah in this manner, *my people, they that praise thee, seduce thee and disorder the paths of thy feet.* And David desired God to cut out the tongue of a flatterer. But it is hard to know them from friends, they are so obsequious, and full of protestations; for a wolf resembles a dog, so doth a flatterer a friend. A flatterer is compared to an ape, who, because she cannot defend the house like a dog, labour as an ox, or bear burdens as a horse, doth therefore yet play tricks and provoke laughter. Thou mayst be sure that he that will in private tell thee thy faults, is thy friend, for he adventures thy mislike, and doth hazard thy hatred; for there are few men that can endure it, every man, for the most part, delighting in self-praise, which is one of the most universal follies which bewitcheth mankind.

### QUARRELS.

Be careful to avoid public disputations at feasts, or at tables among choleric or quarrelsome persons; and eschew evermore to be acquainted, or familiar with ruffians. For thou shalt be in as much danger in contending with a brawler in a private quarrel as in a battle, wherein thou mayst get honour to thyself, and safety to thy prince and country. But if

thou be once engaged, carry thyself bravely, that they may fear thee after. To shun therefore private fight, be well advised in thy words and behaviour; for honour and shame is in the talk, and the tongue of a man causeth him to fall.

Jest not openly at those that are simple, but remember how much thou art bound to God, who hath made thee wiser. Defame not any woman publicly, though thou know her to be evil; for those that are faulty, cannot endure to be taxed, but will seek to be avenged of thee, and those that are not guilty, cannot endure unjust reproach. And as there is nothing more shameful and dishonest, than to do wrong, so truth itself cutteth his throat that carrieth her publicly in every place. Remember the divine saying, *he that keepeth his mouth, keepeth his life.* Do therefore right to all men, where it may profit them, and thou shalt thereby get much love; and forbear to speak evil things of men, though it be true, (if thou be not constrained); and thereby thou shalt avoid malice and revenge.

Do not accuse any man of any crime, if it be not to save thyself, thy prince, or country; for there is nothing more dishonourable (next to treason itself) than to be an accuser. Notwithstanding, I would not have thee, for any respect, lose thy reputation, or endure public disgrace; for better it were not to live than to live a coward, if the offence proceed not from thyself. If it do, it shall be better to compound it upon good terms, than to

hazard thyself; for if thou overcome, thou art under the cruelty of the law; if thou art overcome, thou art dead or dishonoured. If thou therefore contend, or discourse in argument, let it be with wise and sober men, of whom thou must learn by reasoning, and not with ignorant persons; for thou shalt thereby instruct those that will not thank thee, and utter what they have learned from thee for their own; but if thou know more than other men, utter it when it may do thee honour, and not in assemblies of ignorant and common persons.

Speaking much also, is a sign of vanity; for he that is lavish in words, is a niggard in deeds; and, as Solomon saith, *the mouth of a wise man is in his heart, the heart of a fool is in his mouth, because what he knoweth, or thinketh, he uttereth.* And by thy words and discourses men will judge thee. For as Socrates saith, *such as thy words are, such will thy affections be esteemed; and such will thy deeds as thy affections, and such thy life as thy deeds.* Therefore be advised what thou dost discourse of, and what thou maintainest; whether touching religion, state, or vanity; for if thou err in the first, thou shalt be accounted profane; if in the second, dangerous; if in the third, indiscreet and foolish. He that cannot refrain from much speaking, is like a city without walls, and less pains in the world a man cannot take, than to hold his tongue; therefore, if thou observest this rule in all assemblies, thou shalt seldom err. Restrain thy

choler, hearken much, and speak little; for the tongue is the instrument of the greatest good, and greatest evil that is done in the world.

According to Solomon, *life and death are in the power of the tongue;* and as Euripides truly affirmeth, *every unbridled tongue in the end shall find itself unfortunate;* for in all that ever I observed in the course of wordly things, I ever found that men's fortunes are oftener made by their tongues than by their virtues, and more men's fortunes overthrown thereby also, than by their vices. And to conclude, all quarrels, mischief, hatred, and destruction, arise from unadvised speech; and in much speech there are many errors, out of which thy enemies shall ever take the most dangerous advantage. And as thou shalt be happy, if thou thyself observe these things, so shall it be most profitable for thee to avoid their companies that err in that kind, and not to hearken to tale-bearers, to inquisitive persons, and such as busy themselves with other men's estates, that creep into houses as spies, to learn news which concerns them not; for, assure thyself, such persons are most base and unworthy, and I never knew any of them prosper or respected among worthy or wise men.

Take heed also that thou be not found a liar; for a lying spirit is hateful both to God and man. A liar is commonly a coward; for he dares not avow truth. A liar is trusted of no man; he can have no credit, neither in public nor private; and if

there were no more arguments than this, know that our Lord in S^t. John saith, *that it is a vice proper to Satan*, lying being opposite to the nature of God, which consisteth in truth; and the gain of lying is nothing else, but not to be trusted of any, nor to be believed when we say the truth. It is said in the Proverbs, *that God hateth false lips; and he that speaketh lies shall perish.* Thus thou mayst see and find in all the books of God, how odious and contrary to God a liar is; and for the world, believe it, that it never did any man good, except in the extremity of saving life; for a liar is of a base, unworthy, and cowardly spirit.

### PRESERVATION OF ESTATE.

Among all other things of the world, take care of thy estate; which thou shalt ever preserve, if thou observe three things. First, that thou know what thou hast, what every thing is worth that thou hast, and to see that thou art not wasted by thy servants and officers. The second is, that thou never spend any thing before thou have it; for borrowing is the canker and death of every man's estate. The third is, that thou suffer not thyself to be wounded for other men's faults, and scourged for other men's offences, which is, the surety for another; for thereby millions of men have been beggared and destroyed, paying the reckoning of other men's riot, and the charge of other men's folly and

prodigality. If thou smart, smart for thine own sins; and above all things, be not made an ass to carry the burdens of other men.

If any friend desire thee to be his surety, give him a part of what thou hast to spare; if he press thee farther, he is not thy friend at all; for friendship rather chuseth harm to itself, than offereth it. If thou be bound for a stranger, thou art a fool; if for a merchant, thou puttest thy estate to learn to swim; if for a churchman, he hath no inheritance; if for a lawyer, he will find an evasion by a syllable or word, to abuse thee; if for a poor man, thou must pay it thyself; if for a rich man, it need not. Therefore from suretyship, as from a manslayer, or enchanter, bless thyself; for the best profit and return will be this, that if thou force him for whom thou art bound, to pay it himself, he will become thy enemy; if thou use to pay it thyself, thou wilt be a beggar; and believe thy father in this, and print it in thy thought, that what virtue soever thou hast, be it never so manifold, if thou be poor withal, thou and thy qualities shall be despised. Beside, poverty is oft-times sent as a curse of God; it is a shame among men, an imprisonment of the mind, a vexation of every worthy spirit; thou shalt neither help thyself nor others, thou shalt drown thee in all thy virtues, having no means to shew them, thou shalt be a burden, and an eye-sore to thy friends, every man will fear thy company, thou shalt be driven basely to beg and depend on others,

to flatter unworthy men, to make dishonest shifts; and to conclude, poverty provokes a man to do infamous and detested deeds. Let not vanity therefore, or persuasion, draw thee to that worst of worldly miseries.

If thou be rich, it will give thee pleasure in health, comfort in sickness, keep thy mind and body free, save thee from many perils, relieve thee in thy elder years, relieve the poor and thy honest friends, and give means to thy posterity to live, and defend themselves and thine own fame. Where it is said in the Proverbs, *that he shall be sore vexed that is surety for a stranger, and he that hateth suretyship, is sure,* it is farther said, *the poor is hated even of his own neighbour, but the rich have many friends.* Lend not to him that is mightier than thyself, for if thou lendest him, count it but lost. Be not surety above thy power, for if thou be surety, think to pay it.

### SERVANTS.

Let thy servants be such as thou mayst command, and entertain none about thee but yeomen, to whom thou givest wages; for those that will serve thee without thy hire, will cost thee treble as much as they that know thy fare. If thou trust any servant with thy purse, be sure thou take his account e're thou sleep; for if thou put it off, thou wilt then afterward for tediousness neglect it. I myself, have therefore lost more than I am worth. And what,

soever thy servant gaineth thereby, he will never thank thee, but laugh thy simplicity to scorn; and beside, 'tis the way to make thy servants thieves, who else would be honest.

### BRAVE RAGS.

Exceed not in the humour of rags and bravery, for these will soon wear out of fashion; but money in thy purse will ever be in fashion; and no man is esteemed for gay garments, but by fools and women.

### RICHES.

On the other side, take heed that thou seek not riches basely, nor attain them by evil means; destroy no man for his wealth, nor take any thing from the poor; for the cry and complaint thereof will pierce the heavens. And it is most detestable before God, and most dishonourable before worthy men, to wrest any thing from the needy and labouring soul. God will never prosper thee in aught, if thou offend therein. But use thy poor neighbours and tenants well, pine not them and their children to add superfluity and needless expences to thyself. He that hath pity on another man's sorrow, shall be free from it himself; and he that delighteth in, and scorneth the misery of another, shall one time or other fall into it himself. Remember this precept,

*he that hath mercy on the poor lendeth unto the Lord, and the Lord will recompence him what he hath given.* I do not understand those for poor who are vagabonds and beggars, but those that labour to live, such as are old and cannot travail, such poor widows and fatherless children, as are ordered to be relieved, and the poor tenants that travail to pay their rents, and are driven to poverty by mischance, and not by riot or careless expences; on such have thou compassion, and God will bless thee for it. Make not the hungry soul sorrowful, defer not thy gift to the needy; for if he curse thee, in the bitterness of his soul, his prayer shall be heard of him that made him.

### WINE.

Take especial care that thou delight not in wine, for there never was any man that came to honour or preferment that loved it; for it transformeth a man into a beast, decayeth health, poisoneth the breath, destroyeth natural heat, brings a man's stomach to an artificial heat, deformeth the face, rotteth the teeth, and, to conclude, maketh a man contemptible, soon old, and despised of all wise and worthy men, hated in thy servants, in thyself and companions; for it is a bewitching and infectious vice. And, remember my words, that it were better for a man to be subject to any vice than to it; for all other vanities and sins are recovered, but a drunk-

ard will never shake off the delight of beastliness; for the longer it possesseth a man, the more he will delight in it, and the older he groweth, the more he shall be subject to it; for it dulleth the spirits, and destroyeth the body, as ivy doth the old tree, or as the worm that engendereth in the kernel of the nut.

Take heed, therefore, that such a cureless canker pass not thy youth, nor such a beastly infection thy old age; for then shall all thy life be but as the life of a beast, and after thy death, thou shalt only leave a shameful infamy to thy posterity, who shall study to forget that such a one was their father. Anacharsis saith, *the first draught serveth for health, the second for pleasure, the third for shame, the fourth for madness;* but in youth there is not so much as one draught permitted, for it putteth fire to fire, and wasteth the natural heat and seed of generation. And, therefore, except thou desire to hasten thine end, take this for a general rule, that thou never add any artificial heat to thy body, by wine or spice, until thou find that time hath decayed thy natural heat, and the sooner thou beginnest to help nature, the sooner she will forsake thee, and trust altogether to art. *Who have misfortune,* saith Solomon, *who have sorrow and grief, who have trouble without fighting, stripes without cause, and faintness of eyes? even they that sit at wine, and strain themselves to empty cups.* Pliny saith, *wine maketh the hand*

*quivering, the eyes watery, the night unquiet, lewd dreams, a stinking breath in the morning, and an utter forgetfulness of all things.*

Whosoever loveth wine, shall not be trusted of any man, for he cannot keep a secret. Wine maketh man not ony a beast, but a madman; and if thou love it, thy own wife, thy children, and thy friends, will despise thee. In drink, men care not what they say, what offence they give; they forget comeliness, commit disorders, and, to conclude, offend all virtuous and honest company, and God most of all, to whom we daily pray for health, and a life free from pain; and yet by drunkenness and gluttony (which is the drunkenness of feeding) we draw on, saith Hesiod, a swift, hasty, untimely, cruel, and an infamous, old age. And S^t^. Augustine describeth drunkenness in this manner; *ebrietas est blandus dæmon, dulce venenum, suave peccatum; quod, qui habet, seipsum non habet; quod qui facit, peccatum not facit, sed ipse est peccatum. Drunkenness is a flattering devil, a sweet poison, a pleasant sin, which whosoever hath, hath not himself, which whosoever doth commit, doth not commit sin, but he himself is wholly sin.*

Innocentius saith, *quid turpius ebrioso, cui fætor in ore, tremor in corpore, qui promit stulta, prodit occulta, cui mens alienatur, facies transformatur? Nullum secretum ubi regnat ebrietas, et quid non aliud designat malum? Fæcundi calices quem non*

*fecere disertum? What is filthier than a drunken man, to whom there is stink in the mouth, trembling in the body; who uttereth foolish things, and revealeth secret things; whose mind is alienate, and face transformed? There is no secrecy where drunkenness rules; nay, what other mischief doth it not design? Whom have not plentiful cups made eloquent and talking?*

When Diogenes saw a house to be sold, whereof the owner was given to drink, *I thought at the last,* quoth Diogenes, *he would spew out a whole house; sciebam inquit, quod domum tandem evomeret.*

GOD.

Now, for the world, I know it too well to persuade thee to dive into the practices thereof; rather stand upon thine own guard against all that tempt thee thereunto, or may practise upon thee in thy conscience, thy reputation, or thy purse; resolve that no man is wise or safe, but he that is honest.

Serve God, let him be the author of all thy actions, commend all thy endeavours to him that must either wither or prosper them, please him with prayer, lest if he frown he confound all thy fortunes and labours, like the drops of rain on the sandy ground. Let my experienced advice, and fatherly instructions, sink deep into thy heart. So God

direct thee in all his ways, and fill thy heart with his grace![a]

[a] Four editions of these Instructions (the earliest I believe in 12mo, 1632) were published before the first collection of Ralegh's Remains in 1651, in which they have since been frequently reprinted; also in Birch's Works of Ralegh, II, 341.

END OF THE LIFE.

# APPENDIX.

## N°. I.

### EPISTLE DEDICATORY, PREFIXED BY JOHN HOOKER (*ALIAS* VOWELL) TO HIS TRANSLATION AND CONTINUATION OF THE CHRONICLES OF IRELAND.

(Printed in HOLINSHED's Chronicles, Vol. II, folio, 1586.)

'*To the Right Worthy and Honourable Gentleman, Sir Walter Ralegh, Knight, Seneschall of the Duchies of Cornwall and Excester, and Lord-warden of the Stannaries in Devon and Carnwall, John Hooker wisheth a long, a happy, and a prosperous life, with the increase of honour.*'

'AMONG all the infinite good blessings, right honourable, which the Lord God hath bestowed upon us, I think none more expedient and necessary than the use and knowledge of histories and chronicles; which are the most assured registers of the innumerable benefits and commodities which have, and daily do grow to, the church of God, and to the civil government throughout all nations.

* * * * * *

——In times past, the surest course which our forefathers took, either in civil government or in martial affairs, was that which

they drew from the examples of their ancestors before them. And, forasmuch as such is the value and virtue of the footsteps of our forefathers, I trust it shall not be offensive unto you, that I do a little digress, and speak somewhat of yourself and of your ancestors, who the more honourable they were in their times, the greater cause have you to look into the same; that what in some of your later forefathers was consopited may not in you be consepulted, but roused and raised into its former and pristinate state. And forasmuch as I am somewhat acquainted in their descents, let me make bold with you to lay the same down before you.

'There were sundry of your ancestors by the name of Ralegh, who were of great account and nobility, and allied as well to the Courtneys, earls of Devon, as to other houses of great honour and nobility, and in sundry succeeding descents were honoured with the degree of knighthood. One of them, being your ancestor in the directest line, was named Sir John de Ralegh, who then dwelled in the house of Furdell in Devon, an ancient house of your ancestors, and of their ancient inheritance; and which at these presents is in the possession of your eldest brother. This knight married the daughter and heir to Sir Roger D'amerei, or de Amerei, whom our English chronicles do name Lord de Amerie, who was a nobleman, and of great lineage, and descended of the earls de Amercie in Britain, and allied to the earls of Montfort in the same duchy and province. This man being come over into England did serve in the court, and by the good pleasure of God, and the good liking of the king, he married the Lady Elizabeth, the third sister and co-heir to the noble Gilbert earl of Clare and of Glocester, who was slain in the battle of Banokesborough in Scotland, in the time of King Edward II. This earl died *sans* issue, he being the son, and the said Lady Elizabeth the daughter, to Gilbert de Clare, earl of Glocester, by his wife the Lady Jane de Acres or Acon, daughter to King Edward I. This Gilbert descended of Robert earl

of Glocester, son to King Henry I, and of his wife the Lady Mawd, daughter and heir to Robert Fitzhamon, lord of Astrovill in Normandy, cousin to the Conqueror, knight of the privy-chamber to King William Rufus, and lord of the lordship of Glamorgan in Wales; so that your ancestor Sir John de Ralegh married the daughter of de Amerie, de Amereie of Clare, Clare of Edward I, and which Clare by his father descended of King Henry I. And in like manner by your mother you may be derived out of the same house. These all were men of great honour and nobility, and whose virtues are highly recorded *sparsim* in the chronicles of England; some greatly commended for their wisdoms and deep judgments in matters of counsel, some likewise much praised for their prowess and valiantness in martial affairs, and many of them honoured for both.

'But yet as nothing is permanent in this life, and all things variable under the sun, and time hath devoured and consumed the greatest men and the mightiest monarchs, and most noble commonwealths in the world, according to the old country saying,

> Be the day never so long,
> Yet at length it will ring at even-song;

So this honourable race, though for so many descents, and for the course of so many years it continued in great honour, nobility, and reputation, yet in process of time the honour became to be of worship, (nevertheless allied alway, and matched in houses of great honour and nobility), and so ever-since possessed by knights of your own name, until by little and little the honour and estimation of your noble and worthy ancestors seemed at length to be buried in oblivion, and as it were extinguished and to be utterly forgotten, as though it had never been.

'And now when all was past any hope and unremembered to the world, it hath pleased God to raise the same even as it were from the dead, and to look upon you the youngest son

of many, as he did upon Joseph, one of the youngest sons of Jacob; and in you hath left a hope to restore the decayed house of your sept and family. He hath brought you into the good favour of your prince, who hath pleased to reward and honour in you the approved faithful service of your late ancestors and kindred deceased; and inclined her princely heart, conceiving a great hope of your own sufficiency and ability, to restore you again, being the last branch remaining of so many noble and famous houses descended. And whereof cometh this, that the Lord hath thus blessed you, and so bountifully hath dealt with you? but only (as the wise man saith) *ut noscas in omni virtute omnibus prodesse*, and that you should be beneficial and profitable to all men. And therefore in all our actions, *semper aliquid ad communem utilitatem est afferendum;* for we are not born to ourselves alone, but the prince, the country, the parents, friends, wives, children, and family, every of them do claim an interest in us, and to every of them we must be beneficial, otherwise we do degenerate from that community and society, which by such offices by us is to be conserved, and do become most unprofitable; *nam inutilis prorsus est, qui nullum utilitatem reipublicæ ac communi societati possit afferre*, and every such man, as a member unprofitable is to be cut off. And as the bee is no longer suffered to have a place in the hive than while he worketh, no more is that man to have place in the public weal than while he doth some good therein, because through idleness they do not only no good, but as Cato saith, they do evil; *nihil agendo homines male agere discunt.* Idleness, therefore, the mother of all wickedness, and idlers, the sons of so bad a mother, are utterly to be exiled and expelled out of all well-governed commonweals; and they only to be fostered, nourished, and cherished, who as they are born to the country, so if they do good and be beneficial to the same.

'And how great your care hath been herein, the course of your life hitherto doth manifest it. For, after that you had

seasoned your primer years at Oxford in knowledge and learning, a good ground and a sure foundation to build thereupon all your good actions, you travelled into France, and spent there a good part of your youth in the wars and martial services. And having some sufficient knowledge and experience therein, then after your return from thence, to the end you might every way be able to serve your prince and commonweal, you were desirous to be acquainted in maritimal affairs. Then you, together with your brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, travelled the seas for the search of such countries, as which if they had been then discovered, infinite commodities in sundry respects would have ensued, and whereof there was no doubt, if the fleet then accompanying you, had, according to appointment, followed you, or yourself had escaped the dangerous sea fight when many of your company were slain, and your ships therewith also sore battered and disabled. And albeit this hard beginning (after which followed the death of the said worthy knight your brother) was a matter sufficient to have discouraged a man of a right good stomach and value from any like sea attempts; yet you, more respecting the good ends whereunto you levelled your line for the good of your country, did not give over until you had recovered a land, and had made a plantation of the people of your own English nation in Virginia, the first English colony that ever was there planted, to the no little derogation of the glory of the Spaniards, and an impeach to their vaunts; who, because with all cruel imanity, contrary to all natural humanity, they subdued a naked and a yielding people, whom they sought for gain and not for any religion or plantation of a commonwealth, over whom to satisfy their most greedy and insatiable covetousness, did most cruelly tyrannise, and most tyrannically, and against the course of all human nature, did scorch and roast them to death, as by their own histories doth appear. These (I say) do brag and vaunt, that they only have drawn strange nations and unknown people to the obedience of their kings,

to the knowledge of Christianity, and to the enriching of their country, and thereby do claim the honour to be due to themselves only and alone. But if these your actions were well looked into, with such due consideration as appertaineth, it shall be found much more honourable in sundry respects for the advancement of the name of God, the honour of the prince, and the benefit of the commonwealth. For what can be more pleasant to God than to gain and reduce in all christianlike manner, a lost people to the knowledge of the gospel, and a true Christian religion, than which cannot be a more pleasant and a sweet sacrifice, and a more acceptable service before God? And what can be more honourable to princes, than to enlarge the bounds of their kingdoms without injury, wrong, and bloodshed; and to frame them from a savage life to a civil government, neither of which the Spaniards in their conquests have performed? And what can be more beneficial to a commonweal, than to have a nation and a kingdom to transfer unto the superfluous multitude of fruitless and idle people (here at home daily increasing) to travel, conquer, and manure another land, which by the due intercourses to be devised may and will yield infinite commodities?

'And how well you do deserve every way in following so honourable a course, not we ourselves only can witness, but strange nations also do honour you for the same; as doth appear by the epistle of Bassimerus of France to the history of Florida, and by Julius Cæsar, a citizen of Rome, in his epistle to his book intituled Cullombeados. It is well known that it had been no less easy for you, than for such as have been advanced by kings to have builded great houses, purchased large circuits, and to have used the fruits of princes' favours, as most men in all former and present ages have done, had you not preferred the general honour and commodity of your prince and country before all private gain and commodity; whereby you have been rather a servant than a commander to your own fortune. And no doubt, the cause being so good,

and the attempt so honourable, but that God will increase your talent, and bless your doings, and every good man will commend and farther the same. And albeit the more noble enterprises a man shall take in hand, the more adversaries he shall have to deprive and hinder the same; yet I am persuaded, as no good man shall have just cause, so there is none so much carried with a corrupt mind, nor so envious of his country's honour, nor so bent against you, that he will derogate the praise and honour due to so worthy an enterprise; and that so much the sooner, because you have endured so many crosses, and have through so much envyings and misfortunes persevered in your attempts, which no doubt shall at last by you be performed when it shall please him, who hath made you an instrument of so worthy a work. And by how much the more God hath pleased thus to bless you, so much the more are you bound to be thankful unto him, and to acknowledge the same to proceed from his grace and mercy toward you.

Give me leave therefore (I pray you) to be bold with you, not only to put you in mind hereof, but also to remember you, how it hath pleased God to bring you into the favour of your prince and sovereign; who, beside her great favour toward you many ways, she hath also laid upon you the charge of a government in your own country, where you are to command many people by your honourable office of the stanhary, and where you are both a judge and chancellor, to rule in justice and to judge in equity. Wherein you are so much the more to be circumspect and wise, because upon your judgment, (and such as you shall appoint to be under you), the determinations of all their causes doth rest and depend, knowing that a hard judgment abideth for such as be in authority, if they judge not uprightly, and do not yield justice to every man indifferently. Be you therefore careful in this respect, that you be well reported for your upright dealings, both herein and in every of all your other actions to all men.

Be you a pattern of virtue, and an example of true nobility, which is grounded and hath her foundation upon virtue; for, as the poet saith, *ex virtute nobilitas nascitur, non ex nobilitate virtus; virtus sola nobilitat, non caro nec sanguis.* And therefore, saith Demosthenes, if thou draw thy descent and pedigree even from Jupiter himself, yet if thou be not virtuous, just, and good, *ignobilis mihi videbris;* in my opinion thou art no gentleman. It is a noble thing to be born of noble ancestors, (as Aristotle saith), but his nobility faileth, when his ancestors' virtues in him faileth; *his enim verè nobilis est censendus, cui non aliena sed sua virtus ad gloriam opitulatur.* Your ancestors were very ancient, and men of great nobility, beneficial to their princes and country many and sundry ways. And as in nature you are descended from them, so it hath pleased God to bless you with knowledge in learning, with skill of warlike service, and in experience in maritimal causes, and beside hath placed you among the nobles, and in the good grace and favour of your prince. Wherefore you are so much the more to be careful to restore the house of your decayed forefathers to their ancient honour and nobility, which in this later age hath been obscured, abiding the time by you to be restored to their first and primer state; which you are not only taught by their old and good examples, but also by the ensigns of their and your nobility.

'For the fusils being an instrument of travail and labour, do advertise you, that you are one of the sons of Adam, born to walk in a vocation, and therein to be a profitable member in the church of God, and in maintenance of the common society; which when you behold and look upon, you must so endeavour yourself, even as Agathocles, king of Syracusa, whose cupboards, though they were well furnished with great store and variety of rich plate, yet he thought not the same sufficiently fraughted, unless he had also his earthen pitchers and stone cups in which he used to drink, to teach and remember him in the middle of his royalty, to be mindful

of his origin, estate, and duty. The white colour or silver metal doth teach unto you virtue, sincerity, and godliness. For as silver is a most excellent metal, and next unto gold excelling all others, and with which, for the excellency thereof, the Lord God would have his tabernacle and his temple to be adorned and beautified with vessels and ornaments thereof; and as the white colour, if it be spotted and foul, doth lose his grace, even so it teacheth you to be a man of an honest and of a godly conversation; to lead a life in all uprightness without reproach and disgrace; and that you should be serviceable to God and your country in all good actions; and therewith also (which by the gulie colour is meant) you be bold and valiant for the defence of your country, and for the safety thereof to spend both life and goods, that you should be beneficial to all men, hurtful and injurious to no man. And such kind of men were your ancestors, who for the same were beloved and honoured, and their names for ever registered in immortal fame and memory. And so shall it be with you, if you do the like, and follow their steps and examples, God shall bless you, and you shall prosper and flourish as did Joseph; you shall be honoured, as was Daniel; and you shall be in favour before God and man, as were your ancestors; the whole people shall speak good of you, the honour of your house shall be restored, and your talent shall be augmented and increased, and all things shall go well with you.

* * * * * * *

———According to such instructions and collections as are come to my hands, I have after the method and nature of an history most sincerely and faithfully set down what is material and worthy the writing. And forasmuch as yourself was a party and a doer in some part of the Desmonds' wars, (in which you were a painful and a faithful servitor, and therefore can give some report and testimony to this discourse), and also for the love and honour which I do owe and bear unto you, I thought it my part and duty to offer and present,

and presently in most humble manner I do offer and present, the same unto your good favour and protection. And albeit, the thing itself be very slender, and too far an inferior present to be offered to one of your estate and calling, yet let your courtesy cover that, and accept my goodwill; which as time and occasion hereafter shall serve, I shall and will be most willing (as your lordship's most devout and assured) to supply in all the good services I may or shall be able to do at your commandment. The Lord bless you, and multiply your days, to the honour of God, the good service of her Majesty, the benefit of the commonwealth, the comfort of your friends, and to your own increase in all honour.—Exon. October 12, 1586.

Your L. very good friend and ally at commandment,

JOHN HOOKER.'

## N°. II.

### HAKLUYT'S DEDICATION PREFIXED TO HIS TRANSLATION FROM THE FRENCH OF LAUDONNIERE'S HISTORY OF FOUR VOYAGES TO FLORIDA.

[From HAKLUYT's Voyages, III, 301, folio, 1600.]

'*To the Right Honourable Sir Walter Ralegh, Knight, Captain of her Majesty's Guard, Lord Warden of the Stannaries, and her Highness' Lieutenant-General of the County of Cornwall, R. H. wisheth true felicity.*

'SIR,—After that this history, which had been concealed many years, was lately committed to print, and published in France under your name by my learned friend M. Martine Basanier of Paris, I was easily induced to turn it into English, understanding that the same was no less grateful to you

here, than I know it to be acceptable to many great and worthy persons there. And no marvel though it were very welcome unto you, and that you liked of the translation thereof, since no history hitherto set forth hath more affinity, resemblance or conformity with yours of Virginia, than this of Florida. But calling to mind that you had spent more years in France than I, and understand the French better than myself, I forthwith perceived that you approved mine endeavour, not for any private ease or commodity that thereby might redound unto you, but that it argued a singular and especial care you had of those who are to be employed in your own like enterprise, whom, by the reading of this my translation, you would have forwarned and admonished as well to beware of the gross negligence in providing of sufficiency of victuals, the security, disorders, and mutinies, that fell out among the French, with the great inconveniencies that thereupon ensued, that by others' mishaps they might learn to prevent and avoid the like; as also might be put in mind by the reading of the manifold commodities and great fertility of the places herein at large described, and so near neighbours unto our colonies, that they might generally be awaked and stirred up unto the diligent observation of every thing that might turn to the advancement of the action, whereunto they are so cheerfully entered. Many special points concerning the commodities of these parts, the accidents of the Frenchmen's government therein, the causes of their good or bad success, with the occasions of the abandoning one of their forts, and the surprise of the other by the enemy, are herein truly and faithfully recorded; which because they be quoted by me in the margents, and reduced into a large alphabetical table, which I have annexed to the end of the work, it shall be needless to reckon up again. And that the rather, because the same with divers other things of chiefest importance are lively drawn in colours, at your no small charges, by the skilful painter James Morgues, sometime living in the Black-friars in Lon-

don, (whom Monsieur Chastillion, then admiral of France, sent thither, with Laudonniere for that purpose), who was an eye-witness of the goodness and fertility of those regions, and hath put down in writing many singularities which are not mentioned in this treatise; which since he hath published together with the portraitures.

'These four voyages I knew not to whom I might better offer than to yourself, and that for divers just considerations. First, for that as I have said before, they were dedicated unto you in French. Secondly, because now four times also you have attempted the like upon the self-same coast near adjoining. Thirdly, in that you have pierced as far up into the main, and discovered no less secrets in the parts of your abode, than the French did in the places of their inhabiting. Lastly, considering you are now also ready (upon the late return of Captain Stafford, and good news which he brought you of the safe arrival of your last colony in their wished haven), to prosecute this action more thoroughly than ever. And here to speak somewhat of this your enterprise, I affirm, that if the same may speedily and effectually be pursued, it will prove far more beneficial in divers respects unto this our realm, than the world, yea many of the wiser sort, have hitherto imagined. The particular commodities whereof are well known unto yourself and some few others, and are faithfully and with great judgment committed to writing, as you are not ignorant, by one of your followers, which remained there about a twelvemonth with your worshipful lieutenant Mr. Ralph Lane, in the diligent search of the secrets of those countries.

'Touching the speedy and effectual pursuing of your action, though I wot well it would demand a prince's purse to have it thoroughly followed without lingering, yet am I of opinion, that you shall draw the same before it be long to be profitable and gainful, as well to those of our nation there remaining, as to the merchants of England that shall trade here-

after thither, partly by certain secret commodities already discovered by your servants, and partly by breeding of divers sorts of beasts in those large and ample regions, and planting of such things in that warm climate as will best prosper there, and our realm standeth most in need of. And this I find to have been the course that both Spaniards and Portuguese took in the beginnings of their discoveries and conquests. For the Spaniards at their first entrance into Hispaniola found neither sugar-canes nor ginger growing there, nor any kind of our cattle; but finding the place fit for pasture they sent kine and bulls, and sundry sorts of other profitable beasts thither, and transported the plants of sugar-canes, and set the roots of ginger; the hides of which oxen, with sugar and ginger, are now the chief merchandize of that island. The Portuguese also, at their first footing in Madeira, as John Barros writes in his first Decade, found nothing there but mighty woods for timber, whereupon they called the island by that name; howbeit, the climate being favourable, they enriched it by their own industry with the best wines and sugars in the world. The like manner of proceeding they used in the isles of Azores by sowing therein great quanity of woad. So dealt they in S^t. Thomas under the equinoctial, and in Brazil, and sundry other places. And if our men will follow their steps, by your wise direction I doubt not but in due time they shall reap no less commodity and benefit. Moreover, there is none other likelihood but that her Majesty, who hath christened and given the name to your Virginia, if need require, will deal after the manner of honourable godmothers, who, seeing ther gossips not fully able to bring up their children themselves, are wont to contribute to their honest education, the rather if they find any towardliness or reasonable hope of goodness in them. And if Elizabeth, queen of Castile and Aragon, after her husband Ferdinando and she had emptied their coffers and exhausted their treasures in subduing the kingdom of Granada, and rooting the Moors,

a wicked weed, out of Spain, was nevertheless so zealous of God's honour, that (as Fernandus Columbus, the son of Christopher Columbus, recordeth in the History of the Deeds of his Father), she laid part of her own jewels, which she had in great account, to gage, to furnish his father forth upon his first voyage, before any foot of land of all the West Indies was discovered; what may we expect of our most magnificent and gracious prince ELIZABETH of England, into whose lap the Lord hath most plentifully thrown his treasures! what may we, I say, hope of her forwardness and bounty in advancing of this your most honourable enterprise, being far more certain than that of Columbus, at that time especially, and tending no less to the glory of God than that action of the Spaniards? For as you may read in the very last words of the relation of New Mexico, extant now in English, the main land, where your last colony meant to seat themselves, is replenished with many thousands of Indians, *who are of better wits than those of Mexico and Peru, as hath been found by those that have had some trial of them; whereby it may be gathered that they will easily embrace the gospel, forsaking their idolatry, wherein at this present for the most part they are wrapped and intangled.*

'A wise philosopher, noting the sundry desires of divers men, writeth, that if an ox be put into a meadow he will seek to fill his belly with grass, if a stork be cast in she will seek for snakes, if you turn in a hound he will seek to start a hare; so sundry men entering into these discoveries propose unto themselves several ends. Some seek authority and places of commandment, others experience by seeing of the world, the most part worldly and transitory gain, and that oftentimes by dishonest and unlawful means, the fewest number the glory of God and the saving of the souls of the poor and blinded infidels. Yet because divers honest and well-disposed persons are entered already into this your business, and that I know you mean hereafter to send some such good churchmen thither, as may truly say with the apostle to the savages, *we*

*seek not yours but you*, I conceive great comfort of the success of this your action, hoping that the Lord, whose power is wont to be perfected in weakness, will bless the feeble foundations of your building Only be you of a valiant courage, and faint not, as the Lord said unto Joshua, exhorting him to proceed on forward in the conquest of the land of promise; and remember that private men have happily wielded and waded through as great enterprises as this, with lesser means than those which God in his mercy hath bountifully bestowed upon you, to the singular good, as I assure myself, of this our commonwealth wherein you live. Hereof we have examples domestical and foreign. Remember, I pray you, what you find in the beginning of the Chronicle of the Conquest of Ireland, newly dedicated unto yourself. Read you not that Richard Strangbow, the decayed earl of Chepstow in Monmouthshire, being in no great favour of his sovereign, passed over into that island in the year 1171, and accompanied only with certain of his private friends, had in short space such prosperous success, that he opened the way for King Henry II to the speedy subjection of all that warlike nation to this crown of England? The like conquest of Brasilia, and annexing the same to the kingdom of Portugal, was first begun by mean and private men, as Don Antonio de Castillio, ambassador here for that realm, and by-office-keeper of all the records and monuments of their discoveries, assured me in this city in the year 1581.

"Now if the greatness of the main of Virginia, and the large extension thereof, especially to the west, should make you think that the subduing of it were a matter of more difficulty than the conquest of Ireland, first I answer, that as the late experience of that skilful pilot and captain Mr. John Davis to the north-west, (toward which his discovery yourself have thrice contributed with the forwardest), hath shewed a great part to be main sea, where before was thought to be main land, so for my part I am fully persuaded by Ortelius'

late reformation of Culuacan and the gulf of California, that the land on the back part of Virginia extendeth nothing so far westward as is put down in the maps of those parts. Moreover it is not to be denied, but that 100 men will do more now among the naked and unarmed people in Virginia, than 1,000 were able then to do in Ireland against that armed and warlike nation in those days. I say farther, that these two years last experience hath plainly shewed, that we may spare 10,000 able men without any miss. And these are as many as the kingdom of Portugal had ever in all their garrisons of the Azores, Madeira, Arguin, Cape Verde, Guinea, Brasil, Mozambique, Melinde, Zocotora, Ormus, Diu, Goa, Malaca, the Malucos, and Macao upon the coast of China. Yea, this I say by the confession of singular expert men of their own nation, (whose names I suppress for certain causes), which have been personally in the East Indies, and have assured me that their kings had never above 10,000 natural born Portugese (their slaves excepted) out of their kingdom remaining in all the aforesaid territories. Which also this present year I saw confirmed in a secret extract of the particular estate of that kingdom, and of every government and office subject to the same, with the several pensions thereunto belonging. Seeing therefore we are so far from want of people, that retiring daily home out of the Low Countries they go idle up and down in swarms for lack of honest entertainment, I see no fitter place to employ some part of the better sort of them, trained up thus long in service, than in the inward parts of the firm of Virginia, against such stubborn savages as shall refuse obedience to her Majesty. And doubtless many of our men will be glad and fain to accept this condition, when as, by the reading of this present treaty, they shall understand the fertility and riches of the regions confining so near upon yours, the great commodities and goodness whereof you have been contented to suffer to come to light.

In the mean season I humbly commend myself and this my

translation unto you; and yourself, and all those who under you have taken this enterprise in hand, to the grace and good blessing of the Almighty, who is able to build farther, and to finish the good work which in these our days he hath begun by your most christian and charitable endeavour. From London the 1st of May 1587.

Your L. humble at commandment,

R. HAKLUYT.

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## N°. III.

### THE LETTERS PATENTS GRANTED BY THE QUEEN'S MAJESTY TO MR. WALTER RALEGH, NOW KNIGHT, FOR THE DISCOVERING AND PLANTING OF NEW LANDS AND COUNTRIES, TO CONTINUE THE SPACE OF SIX YEARS AND NO MORE.

[From HAKLUYT's Voyages, III, 243.]

'ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith, &c. to all people to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that of our especial grace, certain science and mere motion, we have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors do give and grant to our trusty and well-beloved servant Walter Ralegh, Esq. and to his heirs and assigns for ever, free liberty and licence from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, to discover, search, find out, and view such remote, heathen, and barbarous lands, countries, and territories, not actually possessed of any christain prince, nor inhabited by christian people, as to him, his heirs, and assigns, and to every or any of them shall seem good,

and the same to have, hold, occupy, and enjoy to him, his heirs, and assigns for ever, with all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises, and pre-eminences, thereto or thereabout both by sea and land, whatsoever we by our letters patents may grant, and as we or any of our noble progenitors have heretofore granted to any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate. And the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, and all such as from time to time, by licence of us, our heirs, and successors, shall go or travel thither to inhabit or remain, there to build and fortify, at the discretion of the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs, and assigns, the statutes or act of parliament made against fugitives, or against such as shall depart, remain, or continue out of our realm of England without licence, or any other statute, act, law, or any ordinance whatsoever to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

'And we do likewise by these presents, of our especial grace, mere motion, and certain knowledge, for us, our heirs, and successors, give and grant full authority, liberty, and power to the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs, and assigns, and every of them, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and lead in the said voyage and travel thitherward, or to inhabit there with him or them, and every or any of them, such, and so many of our subjects as shall willingly accompany him or them, and every or any of them; and to whom also we do by these presents, give full liberty and authority in that behalf, and also to have, take, and employ, and use sufficient shipping and furniture for the transportations and navigations in that behalf, so that none of the same persons, or any of them, be such as hereafter shall be restrained by us, our heirs, or successors.

'And farther, that the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, and every of them, shall have, hold, occupy, and enjoy, to him, his heirs and assigns, and every of them for ever,

all the soil of all such lands, territories, and countries, so to be discovered and possessed, as aforesaid, and of all such cities, castles, towns, villages, and places in the same, with the right, royalties, franchises, and jurisdictions, as well marine, as other within the said lands or countries, or the seas thereunto adjoining, to be had, or used, with full power to dispose thereof, and of every part, in fee simple, or otherwise, according to the order of the laws of England, as near as the same conveniently may be, at his and their will and pleasure, to any persons then being, or that shall remain within the allegiance of us, our heirs and successors; reserving alway to us, our heirs and successors, for all services, duties, and demands, the fifth part of all the ore of gold and silver, that from time to time, and at all times after such discovery, subduing and possessing, shall be there gotten and obtained; all which lands, countries, and territories, shall for ever be holden of the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, of us, our heirs and successors, by homage, and by the said payment of the said fifth part, reserved only for all services.

'And, moreover, we do by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant licence to the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, and every of them, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter and expulse, repel and resist, as well by sea as by land, and by all other ways whatsoever, all and every such person and persons whatsoever, as without the especial liking and licence of the said Walter Ralegh, and of his heirs and assigns, shall attempt to inhabit within the said countries, or any of them, or within the space of 200 leagues near to the place or places within such countries, as aforesaid, (if they shall not be before planted or inhabited, within the limits as aforesaid, with the subjects of any christian prince, being in amity with us) where the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs, or assigns, or any of them, or his, or their, or any of their associates or company, shall,

within six years (next ensuing) make their dwellings, or abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt, at any time hereafter, unlawfully to annoy, either by sea or land, the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs or assigns, or any of them, or his or their, or any of his or their companies; giving and granting, by these presents, farther power and authority to the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, and every of them, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, to take and surprise by all manner of means whatsoever, all and every those person or persons, with their ships, vessels, and other goods and furniture, which, without the licence of the said Walter Ralegh, or his heirs or assigns, as aforesaid, shall be found trafficking into any harbour or harbours, creek or creeks, within the limits aforesaid (the subjects of our realms and dominions, and all other persons in amity with us, trading to the Newfoundlands for fishing, as heretofore they have commonly used, or being driven by force of a tempest or shipwreck only excepted), and those persons, and every of them, with their ships, vessels, goods, and furniture, to detain and possess as of good and lawful prize, according to the discretion of him, the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs, and assigns, and every or any of them.

And, for uniting in more perfect league and amity of such countries, lands, and territories, so to be possessed and inhabited, as aforesaid, with our realms of England and Ireland, and the better encouragement of men to these enterprises, we do by these presents, grant and declare, that all such countries so hereafter to be possessed and inhabited, as is aforesaid, from thenceforth shall be of the allegiance of us, our heirs, and successors. And we do grant to the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs, and assigns, and to all and every of them, and to all and every other person and persons, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entered in some of our courts of record within our realm of England, that with the assent of the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs or assigns, shall, in his journies for discovery, or in the journies for conquest, hereafter travel to such lands,

countries, and territories, as aforesaid, and to their and to every of their heirs, that they, and every or any of them, being either born within our said realms of England or Ireland, or in any other place within our allegiance, and who hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the lands, countries, and territories, with such licence, (as aforesaid) shall and may have all the privileges of free denizens, and persons native of England, and within our allegiance, in suchlike ample manner and form, as if they were born and personally resident within our said realm of England; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

"And forasmuch as, upon the finding out, discovering, or inhabiting of such remote lands, countries, and territories, as aforesaid, it shall be necessary for the safety of all men, that shall adventure themselves in those journies or voyages, to determine to live together in christian peace and civil quietness each with other, whereby every one may, with more pleasure and profit, enjoy that whereunto they shall attain with great pain and peril, we, for us, our heirs and successors, are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents do give and grant to the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, forever, that he and they, and every, or any of them, shall and may, from time to time forever hereafter, within the said mentioned remote lands and countries, in the way by the seas thither and from thence, have full and mere power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule, by their and every or any of their good discretions and policies, as well in causes capital or criminal as civil, both marine and other, all such our subjects as shall from time to time adventure themselves in the said journies or voyages, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabit any such lands, countries, or territories, as aforesaid, or that shall abide within 200 leagues of any of the said place or places, where the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs or assigns, or any of them, or any of his or their associates or companies, shall inhabit within six years next ensuing the date hereof, according to such

statutes, laws, and ordinances as shall be by him, the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, and every or any of them devised or established, for the better government of the said people, as aforesaid; so alway as the said statutes, laws, and ordinances, may be as near as conveniently may be, agreeable to the form of the laws, statutes, government, or policy of England, and also so as they be not against the true christian faith, now professed in the church of England, nor in anywise to withdraw any of the subjects or people of those lands or places from the allegiance of us, our heirs and successors, as their immediate sovereign under God.

'And, farther, we do by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant full power and authority, to our trusty and well-beloved counsellor, Sir William Cecil, knight, Lord Burlegh, our high treasurer of England, and to the lord-treasurer of England, for us, our heirs and successors for the time being, and to the privy-council of us, our heirs and successors, or any four or more of them, for the time being, that he, they, or any four or more of them shall, and may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, under his or their hands or seals, by virtue of these presents, authorize and licence the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, and every or any of them by him, and by themselves, or by their, or any of their, sufficient attornies, deputies, officers, ministers, factors, and servants, to embark and transport out of our realm of England and Ireland, and the dominions thereof, all or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his and their associates and companies, and every or any of them, with such other necessaries and commodities of any our realms, as to the said lord treasurer, or four or more of the privy-council, of us, our heirs and successors for the time being (as aforesaid), shall be from time to time, by his or their wisdoms or discretions, thought meet and convenient, for the better relief and supportation of him, the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, and every or any of them, and of his or their, or any of their, associates

and companies; any act, statute, law, or any thing to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

'Provided alway, and our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all christian kings, princes, and states, that if the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs or assigns, or any of them, or any other, by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter, rob or spoil, by sea or by land, or do any act of unjust or unlawful hostility, to any of the subjects of us, our heirs or successors, or to any of the subjects of any the kings, princes, rulers, governors, or estates, being then in perfect league and amity with us, our heirs and successors, and that upon such injury, or upon just complaint of any such prince, ruler, governor, or estate, or their subjects, we, our heirs and successors, shall make open proclamation within any the ports of our realm of England, that the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, and adherents, or any to whom these our letters patents may extend, shall, within the terms to be limited by such proclamation, make full restitution and satisfaction of all such injuries done, so as both we and the said princes, or other so complaining, may hold us and themselves fully contented; and that if the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, shall not make, or cause to be made, satisfaction accordingly, within such time so to be limited, that then it shall be lawful to us, our heirs and successors, to put the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the said places to be discovered (as is aforesaid), or any of them, out of our allegiance and protection. And that from and after such time of putting out of protection of the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs, assigns, and adherents, and others, so to be put out, and the said places within their habitation, possession, and rule, shall be out of our allegiance and protection, and free for all princes and others to pursue with hostility, as being not our subjects, nor by us anyway to be avouched, maintained, or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, or dominion, or allegiance, any-

way belonging; for that express mention of the clear yearly value, of the certainty of the premises, or any part thereof, or of any other gift or grant by us, or any our progenitors or predecessors, to the said Walter Ralegh, before this time made, in these presents be not expressed; or any other grant, ordinance, provision, proclamation, or restraint, to the contrary thereof, before this time given, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, in anywise notwithstanding. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness ourselves, at Westminster, the 25th day of March, in the 26th year of our reign.

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## N°. IV.

### THE VOYAGE MADE BY SIR RICHARD GREENVILLE, FOR SIR WALTER RALEGH, TO VIRGINIA, IN THE YEAR 1585.

[From HAKLUYT's Voyages, III, 251.]

'The 9th day of April, in the year abovesaid, we departed from Plymouth, our fleet consisting of the number of seven sail, to wit, the Tiger, of the burden of seven score tons; a fly-boat, called the Roebuck, of the like burden; the Lion, of 100 tons, or thereabout; the Elizabeth, of fifty tons; and the Dorothy, a small bark; whereunto were also adjoined, for speedy services, two small pinnaces. The principal gentlemen of our company were these; Mr. Ralph Lane, Mr. Thomas Candish, Mr. John Arundel, Mr. Raymund, Mr. Stukely, Mr. Bremige, Mr. Vincent, and Mr. John Clarke, and divers others, whereof some were captains, and other some assistants for counsel, and good directions in the voyage.

'April 14th, we fell with Lancerota and Forteventura,

isles of the Canaries,[2] and from thence we continued our course for Dominica, one of the Antiles of the West-India, wherewith we fell the 7th day of May; and the 10th day following we came to an anchor at Cotesa, a little island situate near to the island of St. John, where we landed and refreshed ourselves all that day.

'May 12th, we came to an achor in the bay of Moskito, in the island of St. John, within a falcon-shot of the shore, where our general, Sir Richard Greenville, and the most part of our company landed, and began to fortify very near to the sea-side; the river ran by the one side of our fort, and the other two sides were environed with woods.

'May 13th, we began to build a new pinnace within the fort, with the timber that we then felled in the country, some part whereof we fetched three miles up in the land, and brought it to our fort upon trucks, the Spaniard not daring to make or offer resistance.

'May 16th, there appeared unto us out of the woods, eight horsemen of the Spaniards, about a quarter of a mile from our fort, staying about half an hour in viewing our forces; but as soon as they saw ten of our shot marching toward them, they presently retired into the woods.

'May 19th, Mr. Candish, who had been separated from our fleet in a storm in the bay of Portugal, arrived at Cotesa, within the sight of the Tiger. We thinking him afar off to have been either a Spaniard or French man-of-war, thought it good to weigh anchors, and to go room with him; which the Tiger did, and discerned him at last to be one of our consorts; for joy of whose coming our ships discharged their ordnance, and saluted him according to the manner of the seas.

[2] These navigators knew no other course from England to Virginia, than *to the Canaries, Hispaniola, the Gulph of Mexico, out by Cuba and the Gulph of Bahama, coasting from Florida to Virginia*; a proof that these were first attempts.

'May 22d, twenty other Spanish horsemen shewed themselves to us upon the other side of the river; which being seen, our general dispatched twenty foot-men toward them, and two horsemen of ours, mounted upon Spanish horses, which we before had taken in the time of our being on the island; they shewed to our men a flag of truce, and made signs to have a parley with us. Whereupon two of our men went half of the way upon the sands, and two of theirs came and met them. The two Spaniards offered very great salutations to our men, but began, according to their Spanish proud humours, to expostulate with them about their arrival and fortifying in their country, who, notwithstanding, by our men's discreet answers, were so cooled, that (whereas they were told, that our principal intention was only to furnish ourselves with water and victuals, and other necessaries, whereof we stood in need, which we craved might be yielded us with fair and friendly means, otherwise our resolution was to practise force, and to relieve ourselves by the sword) the Spaniards, in conclusion, seeing our men so resolute, yielded to our requests, with large promises of all courtesy, and great favour; and so our men and theirs departed.

May 23d, our pinnace was finished and launched; which being done, our general, with his captains and gentlemen, marched up into the country about the space of four miles, where, in a plain marsh, they stayed, expecting the coming of the Spaniards according to their promise, to furnish us with victuals; who, keeping their old custom for perjury and breach of promise, came not; whereupon our general fired the woods thereabout, and so retired to our fort, which the same day was fired also, and each man came aboard to be ready to set sail the next morning.

'May 26th, we set sail from St. John's, being many of us stung before upon shore with the musquitoes; but the same night we took a Spanish frigate, which was forsaken by the Spaniards upon the sight of us, and the next day, in the morn-

ing very early, we took another frigate with good and rich freight, and divers Spaniards of account in her, which afterward we ransomed for good round sums, and landed them in St. John's.

'May 29th, our lieutenant, Mr. Ralph Lane, went in one of the frigates which we had taken, to Roxo bay, upon the south-west side of St. John's, to fetch salt, being thither conducted by a Spanish pilot. As soon as he arrived there, he landed with his men to the number of twenty, and intrenched himself upon the sands immediately, compassing one of their salt hills within the trench; who, being seen of the Spaniards, there came down toward him two or three troops of horsemen and footmen, who gave him the looking and gazing on, but durst not come near him to offer any resistance, so that Mr. Lane, maugre their troops, carried their salt aboard, and laded his frigate, and so returned again to our fleet the 29th day, which rode at St. German's bay. The same day we all departed, and the next day arrived in the island of Hispaniola.

'June 1st, we anchored at Isabella, on the north side of Hispaniola.

'June 3d, the governor of Isabella, and captain of the port de Plata, being certified by the reports of sundry Spaniards, who had been well entertained aboard our ships by our general, that in our fleet were many brave and gallant gentlemen, who greatly desired to see the governor aforesaid, he thereupon sent gentle commendations to our general, promising within few days to come to him in person, which he performed accordingly.

'June 5th, the aforesaid governor, accompanied with a lusty friar, and twenty other Spaniards, with their servants and negroes, came down to the sea-side where our ships rode at anchor, who, being seen, our general manned immediately the most part of his boats with the chief men of our fleet, every man appointed and furnished in the best sort.

'At the landing of our general, the Spanish governor re-

ceived him very courteously, and the Spanish gentlemen saluted our English gentlemen; and their inferior sort did also salute our soldiers and seamen, liking our men, and likewise their qualities, although at the first they seemed to stand in fear of us, and of so many of our boats, whereof they desired that all might not land their men, yet, in the end, the courtesies that passed on both sides were so great, that all fear and mistrust on the Spaniards' part was abandoned.

'In the meantime, while our English general and the Spanish governor discoursed betwixt them of divers matters; as of the state of the country, the multitude of the towns and people, and the commodities of the island, our men provided two banqueting-houses, covered with green boughs, the one for the gentlemen, the other for the servants, and a sumptuous banquet was brought in, served by us, all in plate, with the sound of trumpets, and concert of music, wherewith the Spaniards were more than delighted. Which banquet being ended, the Spaniards, in recompence of our courtesy, caused a great herd of white bulls and kine to be brought together from the mountains, and appointed for every gentleman and captain that would ride, a horse ready saddled, and then singled out three of the best of them to be hunted by horsemen after their manner; so that the pastime grew very pleasant for the space of three hours, wherein all three of the beasts were killed, whereof one took the sea, and there was slain with a musket. After this sport many rare presents and gifts were given and bestowed on both parts, and the next day we played the merchants in bargaining with them by way of truck and exchange of divers of their commodities, as horses, mares, kine, bulls, goats, swine, sheep, bull-hides, sugar, ginger, pearl, tobacco, and such like commodities of the island.

'June 7th, we departed with great good will from the Spaniards from the island of Hispaniola; but the wiser sort do impute this great shew of friendship and courtesy used toward us by the Spaniards, rather to the force that we were of, and

the vigilance and watchfulness that were among us, than to any hearty good will or sure friendly entertainment; for, doubtless, if they had been stronger than we, we might have looked for no better courtesy at their hands, than Mr. John Hawkins received at S^t. John de Ullua, or John Oxnam near the streights of Darien, and divers others of our countrymen in other places.

June 8^th, we anchored at a small island to take seals, which in that place we understood to have been in great quantity, where the general and certain others with him in the pinnace were in very great danger to have been all cast away, but by the help of God they escaped the hazard, and returned aboard the admiral in safety.

'June 9^th, we arrived and landed in the isle of Caycos, in which island we searched for salt ponds, upon the advertisement and information of a Portuguese; who indeed abused our general and us, deserving a halter for his hire, if it had so pleased us.

'June 12^th, we anchored at Guanima, and landed.

'June 15^th and 16^th, we anchored and landed at Cygua-teo.

'June 20^th, we fell with the main of Florida.

'June 23^d, we were in great danger of a wreck on a breach called the Cape of Fear.

'June 24^th, we came to anchor in a harbour, where we caught in one tide so much fish as would have yielded us £20 in London; this was our first landing in Florida.

'June 26^th, we came to anchor at Wococon.

'June 29^th, we weighed anchor to bring the Tiger into the harbour, where, through the unskilfulness of the master, whose name was Fernando, the admiral struck on ground and sunk.

'July 3^d, we sent word of our arriving at Wococon to Wingina at Roanoke.

'July 6^th, Mr. John Arundel was sent to the main, and Manteo with him; and Captain Aubry and Captain Boniten

the same day were sent to Croatoan, where they found two of our men left there, with thirty others, by Captain Raymond, some twenty days before.

'July 8th, Captain Aubry and Captain Boniten returned, with two of our men, found by them, to us at Wococon.

'July 11th, the general, accompanied in his tilt-boat with Mr. John Arundel, Mr. Stukley, and divers other gentlemen; Mr. Lane, Mr. Candish, Mr. Hariot, and twenty others in the new pinnace; Captain Amadas, Captain Clarke, with ten others, in a ship-boat; Francis Brooke and John White in another ship-boat passed over the water from Wococon to the main land victualled for eight days, in which voyage we first discovered the towns of Pomeioc, Aquaseogoc, and Secotan, and also the great lake called by the savages Paquipe, with divers other places, and so returned with that discovery to our fleet.

'July 12th, we came to the town of Pomeioc.

'July 13th, we passed by water to Aquaseogoc.

'July 15th, we came to Secotan, and were well entertained there of the savages.

'July 16th, we returned thence, and one of our boats with the admiral was sent to Aquascogoc, to demand a silver cup which one of the savages had stolen from us, and not receiving it according to his promise, we burnt and spoiled their corn and town, all the people being fled.

'July 18th, we returned from the discovery of Secotan, and the same day came aboard our fleet riding at Wococon.

'July 21st, our fleet anchoring at Wococon, we weighed anchor for Hatteras.

'July 27th, our fleet anchored at Hatteras, and there we rested.

'July 29th, Grangino, brother to King Wingina, came aboard the admiral, and Manteo with him.

'August 2d, the admiral was sent to Weapomeioc.

'August 5th, Mr. John Arundel was sent for England.

'August 28th, our general weighed anchor, and set sail for England.

'About August 31st, he took a Spanish ship of 300 tons richly laden, boarding her with a boat made with boards of chests, which fell asunder, and sunk at the ship's side, as soon as ever he and his men were out of it.

'September 10th, by foul weather, the general, then shipped in the prize, lost sight of the Tiger.

'September 16th, the Tiger fell with the Land's End, and the same day came to anchor at Falmouth.

'September 18th, the general came with the prize to Plymouth, and was courteously received by divers of his worshipful friends.'*

## N°. V.

### AN EXTRACT OF MR. RALPH LANE'S LETTER TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, ESQ. AND ANOTHER GENTLEMAN OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, FROM VIRGINIA.

[From Hakluyt's Voyages, III, 255.]

'In the meanwhile you shall understand, that since Sir Richard Greenville's departure from us, as also before, we have discovered the main to be the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven; so abounding with sweet trees that bring such sundry rich and pleasant gums, grapes of such greatness, yet wild, as France, Spain, nor Italy have no greater; so many sorts of apothecary drugs, such several kinds of flax, and one kind

* Then follows a list of 107 persons, among whom are Amadas and Hariot, who remained a year in Virginia, *under the government of Mr. Ralph Lane.*

like silk, the same gathered of a grass as common there as grass is here. And now within these few days we have found here maize or guinea-wheat, whose ear yieldeth corn for bread 400 upon one ear, and the cane maketh very good and perfect sugar; also Terra-samia, otherwise Terra-sigillata. Beside that, it is the goodliest and most pleasing territory of the world; for the continent is of a huge and unknown greatness, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely; and the climate so wholesome, that we had not one sick since we touched the land here.

'To conclude, if Virginia had but horses and kine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure myself, being inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it. For this already we find, that what commodities soever Spain, France, Italy, or the east parts do yield unto us, in wines of all sorts, in oils, in flax, in rosins, pitch, frankincense, currants, sugars, and suchlike, these parts do abound with the growth of them all; but, being savages that possess the land, they know no use of the same. And sundry other rich commodities, that no parts of the world, be they West or East Indies, have, here we find great abundance of. The people naturally are most courteous, and very desirous to have clothes, but especially of coarse cloth rather than silk; coarse canvas they also like well of; but copper carrieth the price of all, so it be made red. Thus, good Mr. Hakluyt and Mr. H. I have joined you both in one letter of remembrance, as two that I love dearly well; and commending me most heartily to you both, I commit you to the tuition of the Almighty. From the New Fort in Virginia, this 3d of September 1585.

Your most assured friend,

RALPH LANE.'[b]

[b] See Hakluyt's Voyages. III, 254.

*An account of the particularities of the employments of the Englishmen left in Virginia by Sir Richard Greenville, under the charge of Mr. Ralph Lane, general of the same, from the 17th of August 1585, until the 18th of June 1586, at which time they departed the country; sent and directed to Sir Walter Ralegh.*

'That I may proceed with order in this discourse, I think it requisite to divide it into two parts. The first shall declare the particularities of such parts of the country within the main, as our weak number and supply of things necessary did enable us to enter into the discovery of. The second part shall set down the reasons generally moving us to resolve on our departure at the instant with the general Sir Francis Drake, and our common request for passage with him, when the barks, pinnaces, and boats with the masters and mariners meant by him to be left in the country for the supply of such, as for a farther time meant to have stayed there, were carried away with tempest and foul weather; in the beginning whereof shall be declared the conspiracy of Pemisapan, with the savages of the main, to have cut us off, &c.

*The First Part, declaring the particularities of the country of Virginia.*

'First, therefore, touching the particularities of the country, you shall understand that our discovery of the same hath been extended from the island of Roanoke, (the same having been the place of our settlement or inhabitation), into the south, into the north, into the north west, and into the west.

'The uttermost place to the southward of any discovery was Secotan, being by estimation four-score miles distant from Roanoke. The passage from thence was through a broad sound within the main, the same being without kenning of land, and yet full of flats and shoals. We had but one boat

with four oars to pass through the same; which boat could not carry above fifteen men with their furniture, baggage, and victual for seven days at the most; and as for our pinnace, beside that she drew too deep water for that shallow sound, she would not stir for an oar. For these and other reasons (winter also being at hand) we thought good wholly to leave the discovery of those parts until our stronger supply.

'To the northward our farthest discovery was to the Chesapeans, distant from Roanoke about 130 miles; the passage to it was very shallow and most dangerous, by reason of the breath of the sound, and the little succour that upon any flaw was there to be had. But the territory and soil of the Chesapeans (being distant fifteen miles from the shore), for pleasantness of seat, for temperature of climate, for fertility of soil, and for the commodity of the sea, beside multitude of bears, (being an excellent good victual) with great woods of sassafras and walnut trees, is not to be excelled by any other whatsoever. There be sundry kings, whom they call Werowances, and countries of great fertility adjoining to the same, as the Mandoages, Tripanicks, and Opossians, who all came to visit the colony of the English, which I had for a time appointed to be resident there.

'To the north west the farthest place of our discovery was to Chawanook, distant from Roanoke about 130 miles. Our passage thither lieth through a broad sound, but all fresh water, and the channel of a great depth, navigable for goodshipping, but out of the channel full of shoals. The towns about the water side situated by the way, are these following, Pasaquenoke, the Woman's town, Chepanoc, Weapomeioc, Muscamunge, and Metackwem, all these being under the jurisdiction of the king of Weapomeioc, called Okisco. From Muscamunge we enter into the river, and jurisdiction of Chawanook; there the river beginneth to straighten until it come to Chawanook, and then groweth to be as narrow as the Thames between Westminster and Lambeth. Between Muscamunge

and Chawanook, upon the left hand as we pass thither, is a goodly high land, and there is a town which we called the Blind Town; but the savages called it Chanoak, and hath a very goodly corn field belonging unto it; it is subject to Chawanook.

"Chawanook itself is the greatest province and seignory lying upon that river, and the very town itself is able to put 700 fighting men into the field, beside the forces of the province itself. The king of the said province is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his limbs, but otherwise, for a savage, a very grave and wise man, and of a very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state, not only of his own country, and the disposition of his own men, but also of his neighbours round about him, as well far as near, and of the commodities that each country yieldeth. When I had him prisoner with me, for two days that we were together, he gave me more understanding and light of the country than I had received by all the searches and savages that before I or any of my company had had conference with; it was in March last past, 1586. Among other things he told me, that going three days journey in a canoe by his river of Chawanook, and then descending to the land, you are within four days journey to pass over land north-east to a certain king's country, whose province lieth upon the sea; but his place of greatest strength is an island situate, as he described unto me, in a bay, the water round about the island very deep. Out of this bay he signified unto me, that this king had so great quantity of pearl, and doeth so ordinarily take the same, as that not only his own skins that he weareth, and the better sort of his gentlemen and followers, are full set with the said pearl, but also his beds and houses are garnished with them, and that he hath such quantity of them, that it is a wonder to see.

"He shewed me that the said king was with him at Chawanook two years before, and brought him certain pearl, but

the same of the worst sort, yet was he fain to buy them of him for copper at a dear rate, as he thought. He gave me a rope of the same pearl, but they were black and naught, yet many of them were very great, and a few among a number very orient and round, all which I lost with other things of mine coming aboard Sir Francis Drake's fleet. Yet he told me that the said king had great store of pearl that were white, great, and round, and that his black pearl his men did take out of shallow water, but the white pearl his men fished for in very deep water. It seemed to me by his speech, that the said king had traffic with white men that had clothes as we have, for these white pearl, and that was the reason that he would not part with other than with black pearls to those of the same country.

'The king of Chawanook promised to give me guides to go over land into that king's country whensoever I would; but he advised me to take good store of men with me, and good store of victual. For he said, that king would be loth to suffer any strangers to enter into his country, and especially to meddle with the fishing for any pearl there, and that he was able to take a great many men into the field, which he said would fight very well. Hereupon I resolved with myself, that if your supply had come before the end of April, and that you had sent any store of boats, or men to have had them made in any reasonable time, with a sufficient number of men and victuals to have found us until the new corn were come in, I would have sent a small bark with two pinnaces about by sea to the northward to have found out the bay he spake of, and to have sounded the bar, if there were any, which should have ridden there in the said bay about that island; while I, with all the small boats I could make, and with 200 men, would have gone up to the head of the river of Chawanook with the guides that Menatonon would have given me, which I would have been assured should have been of his best men, (for I had his best beloved son prisoner with me), who also should have kept me

company in an handlock with the rest, foot by foot, all the voyage over land.

'My meaning was farther, at the head of the river in the place of my descent, where I would have left my boats, to have raised a sconce with a small trench, and a palisado upon the top of it, in the which, and in the guard of my boats, I would have left 25 or 30 men; with the rest would I have marched with as much victual as every man could have carried, with their furniture, mattocks, spades, and axes, two days journey. In the end of my march upon some convenient plot would I have raised another sconce according to the former, where I would have left fifteen or twenty. And if it would have fallen out conveniently, in the way, I would have raised my said sconce upon some corn field, that my company might have lived upon it. And so I would have holden this course of insconsing every two days march, until I had been arrived at the bay or port he spake of. Which finding to be worth the possession, I would there have raised a main fort, both for the defence of the harbour, and our shipping also, and would have reduced our whole habitation from Roanoke, and from the harbour and port there, (which by proof is very naught), unto this other before mentioned, from whence, in the four days march before specified, could I at all times return with my company back unto my boats, riding under my sconce, very near whereunto, directly from the west, runneth a most notable river, and in all those parts most famous, called the river of Moratoc. This river openeth into the broad sound of Weapomeiok. And whereas the river of Chawanook, and all the other sounds and bays, salt and fresh, shew no current in the world in calm weather, but are moved altogether with the wind; this river of Moratoc hath so violent a current from the west and south-west, that it made me almost of opinion, that with oars it would scarce be navigable. It passeth with many creeks and turnings, and, for the space of thirty miles rowing and more, it is as broad as the Thames,

betwixt Greenwich and the isle of Dogs, in some places more, and in some less; the current runneth as strong, being entered so high into the river, as at London bridge upon a vale water.

'And for that not only Menatonon, but also the savages of Moratoc themselves, do report strange things of the head of that river; and that from Moratoc itself, which is a principal town upon that river, it is thirty days, as some of them say, and some say forty days voyage to the head thereof, which head they say springeth out of a main rock in that abundance, that forthwith it maketh a most violent stream; and farther, that this huge rock standeth so near unto a sea, that many times in storms (the wind coming outwardly from the sea) the waves thereof are beaten into the said fresh stream, so that the fresh water for a certain space groweth salt and brackish; I took a resulution with myself, having dismissed Menatonon upon a ransom agreed for, and sent his son into the pinnace to Roanoke, to enter presently so far into that river with two double wherries, and 40 persons, one or other, as I could have victual to carry us, until we could meet with more either of the Moratocs, or of the Mangoaks, which is another kind of savages, dwelling more to the westward of the said river. But the hope of recovering more victual from the savages made me and my company as narrowly to escape starving in that discovery before our return, as ever men did that missed the same.

'For Pemisapan, who had changed his name of Wingina upon the death of his brother Granganimo, had given both the Choanists and Mangoaks word of my purpose touching them, I having been enforced to make him privy to the same to be served by him of a guide to the Mangoaks. And yet he did never rest to solicit continually my going upon them, certifying me of a general assembly, even at that time, made by Menatonon at Chawanook of all his Weroances and allies, to the number of 3,000 bows, preparing to come upon us at Roanoke, and that the Mangoaks also were joined in the same confederacy, who were able of themselves to bring as

many more to the enterprise. And true it was, that at that time the assembly was holden at Chawanook about us, as I found at my coming thither, which being unlooked for, did so dismay them, as it made us have the better hand at them. But this confederacy against us of the Choanists and Mangoaks was altogether and wholly procured by Pemisapan himself, as Menatonon confessed unto me, who sent them continual word, that our purpose was fully bent to destroy them. On the other side he told me, that they had the like meaning toward us.

'He in like sort having sent word to the Mangoaks of my intention to pass up into their river, and to kill them (as he said) both they and the Moratocs, with whom before we were entered into a league, and they had ever dealt kindly with us, abandoned their towns along the river, and retired themselves with their crenepos *(women)*, and their corn within the main; insomuch as having passed three days voyage up the river, we could not meet a man, nor find a grain of corn, in any their towns. Whereupon, considering with myself that we had but two days victual left, and that we were then 160 miles from home, beside casualty of contrary winds or storms, and suspecting treason of our own savages in the discovery of our voyage intended, though we had no intention to be hurtful to any of them, otherwise than for our copper to have had corn of them, I at night upon the corps of guard, before the putting forth of centinels, advertised the whole company of the case we stood in for victual, and of my opinion that we were betrayed by our own savages, and on purpose drawn forth by them upon vain hope to be in the end starved, seeing all the country fled before us; and therefore while we had those two days victual left, I thought it good for us to make our return homeward, and that it were necessary for us to get to the other side of the sound of Weopomeiok in time, where we might be relieved upon the wears of Chypanum, and the Women's town, although the people were fled.

'Thus much I signified unto them as the safest way; nevertheless I did refer it to the greatest number of voices, whether we should adventure the spending of our whole victual in some farther view of that most goodly river in hope to meet with some better hap, or otherwise to retire ourselves back again. And for that they might be the better advised, I willed them to deliberate all night upon the matter, and in the morning at our going aboard to set our course according to the desires of the greater part. Their resolution fully and wholly was, (and not three found to be of the contrary opinion), that while there was left but one half pint of corn for a man, we should not leave the search of that river, and that there were in the company two mastiffs, upon the pottage of which with sassafras leaves (if the worst fell out) the company would make shift to live two days, which time would bring them down the current to the mouth of the river, and to the entry of the sound, and in two days more at the farthest they hoped to cross the sound, and to be relieved by the wears, which two days they would fast rather than be drawn back a foot till they had seen the Mangoaks, either as friends or foes. This resolution of theirs did not a little please me, since it came of themselves, although for mistrust of that which afterward did happen, I pretended to have been rather of the contrary opinion.

'And that which made me most desirous to have some doings with the Mangoaks, either in friendship, or otherwise to have had one or two of them prisoners, was, for that it is a thing most notorious to all the country, that there is a province to the which the said Mangoaks have recourse, and traffic up that river of Moratoc, which hath a marvellous and most strange mineral. This mine is so notorious among them, as not only to the savages dwelling up the said river, and also to the savages of Chawanook, and all them to the westward, but also to all them of the main; the country's name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoatan.

'The mineral they say is Wassador, which is copper, but they call by the name of Wassador every metal whatsoever. They say it is of the colour of our copper, but our copper is better than theirs; and the reason is, for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoatan is very soft and pale. They say that they take the said metal out of a river that falleth very swift from high rocks and hills, and they take it in shallow water. The manner is this.—They take a great bowl, by their description as great as one of our targets, and wrap a skin over the hollow part thereof, leaving one part open to receive in the mineral; that done, they watch the coming down of the current, and the change of the colour of the water, and then suddenly chop down the said bowl with the skin, and receive into the same as much ore as will come in, which is ever as much as their bowl will hold, which presently they cast into a fire, and forthwith it melteth, and doth yield in five parts, at the first melting, two parts of metal for three parts of ore. Of this metal the Mangoaks have so great store, by report of all the savages adjoining, that they beautify their houses with great plates of the same; and this to be true, I received by report of all the country, and particularly by young Skiko, the king of Chawanook's son, my prisoner, who also himself had been prisoner with the Mangoaks, and set down all the particularities to me before mentioned; but he had not been at Chaunis Temoatan himself; for he said, it was twenty days journey overland from the Mangoaks, to the said mineral country, and that they passed through certain other territories between them and the Mangoaks, before they came to the said country.

'Upon report of the premises, (which I was very inquisitive in all places where I came to take very particular information of), by all the savages that dwelt toward those parts, and especially of Menatonon himself, who in every thing did very particularly inform me, and promised me guides of his own men, who should pass over with me, even to the said

country of Chaunis Temoatan, (for overland from Chawanook to the Mangoaks is but one day's journey from sun-rising to sun-setting, whereas by water it is seven days with the soonest), these things, I say, made me very desirous by all means possible to recover the Mangoaks, and to get some of that their copper for an assay, and therefore I willingly yielded to their resolution. But it fell out very contrary to all expectation and likelihood. For after two days travel, and our whole victual spent, lying on shore all night, we could never see man, only fires we might perceive made along the shore where we were to pass, and up into the country, until the very last day. In the evening whereof, about three of the clock, we heard certain savages call, as we thought, Manteo, who was also at that time with me in the boat, whereof we all being very glad, hoping of some friendly conference with them, and making him to answer them, they presently began a song, as we thought, in token of our welcome to them. But Manteo presently betook him to his piece, and told me that they meant to fight with us. Which word was not so soon spoken by him, and the light horseman ready to put to shore, but there lighted a volley of their arrows among them in the boat, but did no hurt (God be thanked) to any man. Immediately the other boat lying ready with their shot to scour the place for our hand weapons to land upon, which was presently done, although the land was very high and steep, the savages forthwith quitted the shore, and betook themselves to flight.

'We landed, and having fair and easily followed for a small time after them, who had wooded themselves we know not where, the sun drawing then toward the setting, and being then assured that the next day, if we would pursue them, though we might happen to meet with them, yet we should be assured to meet with none of their victual, which we then had good cause to think of, therefore, chusing for the company a convenient ground in safety to lodge in for the night

making a strong corps of guard, and putting out good centinels, I determined the next morning before the rising of the sun to be going back again, if possibly we might recover the mouth of the river into the broad sound. Which, at my first motion, I found my whole company ready to assent unto; for they were now come to their dog's porridge, that they had bespoken for themselves if that befel them, which did, and I before did mistrust we should hardly escape. The end was, we came the next day by night to the river's mouth within four or five miles of the same, having rowed in one day down the current, as much as in four days we had done against the same. We lodged upon an island where we had nothing in the world to eat but pottage of sassafras leaves, the like whereof for a meat was never used before as I think. The broad sound we had to pass the next day all fresh and fasting. That day the wind blew so strongly, and the billow so great, that that there was no possibility of passage without sinking of our boats. This was upon Easter-eve, which was fasted very truly. Upon Easter-day in the morning, the wind coming very calm, we entered the sound, and by four of the clock we were at Chipanum, whence all the savages that we had left there were fled, but their wears did yield us some fish, as God was pleased not utterly to suffer us to be lost; for some of our company of the light horsemen were far spent. The next morning we arrived at our home Roanoke.

'I have set down this voyage somewhat particularly, to the end it may appear unto you, (as true it is) that there wanted no great good will from the most to the least among us, to have perfected this discovery of the mine; for that the discovery of a good mine by the goodness of God, or a passage to the South sea, or some way to it and nothing else, can bring this country in request to be inhabited by our nation. And with the discovery of either of the two above shewed, it will be the most sweet and healthfulest climate, and therewithal the most fertile soil (being manured) in the

world. And then will sassafras, and many other roots and gums there found, make good merchandize and lading for shipping, which otherwise of themselves will not be worth the fetching. Provided also, that there be found out a better harbour than yet there is, which must be to the northward, if any there be, which was mine intention to have spent this summer in the search of, and of the mine of Chaunis Temoatan. The one I would have done, if the barks that I should have had of Sir Francis Drake, by his honourable courtesy, had not been driven away by storm; the other, if your supply of more men, and some other necessaries had come to us in any convenient sufficiency. For this river of Moratoc promiseth great things; and by the opinion of Mr. Hariot, the head of it, by the description of the country, either riseth from the bay of Mexico, or else from very near unto the same, that openeth out into the South sea. And touching the mineral, thus doth M. Youghan affirm, that though it be but copper, seeing the savages are able to melt it, it is one of the richest minerals in the world.

'Wherefore, a good harbour found to the northward, as before is said, and from thence four days overland to the river of Choanoak, sconces being raised; from whence again overland through the province of Choanoak, one day's voyage to the first town of the Maugoaks up the river of Moratoc, by the way, as also upon the said river for the defence of our boats, like sconces being set; in this course of proceeding you shall clear yourself from all those dangers and broad shallow sounds before mentioned, and gain within four days travel into the heart of the main 200 miles at the least, and so pass your discovery into that most notable country, and to the likeliest parts of the main, with far greater facility than otherwise can be performed.

'Thus, Sir, I have, though simply, yet truly set down unto you, what my labour, with the rest of the gentlemen, and poor men of our company, (not without both pain and

peril, which the Lord in his mercy many ways delivered us from) could yield unto you. Which might have been performed in some more perfection, if the Lord had been pleased that only that which you had provided for us had at the first been left with us, or that he had not in his eternal providence now at the last set some other course in these things, than the wisdom of man could look into. Which truly the carrying away by a most strange and unlooked for storm of all our provision, with barks, master, mariners, and sundry also of mine own company, all having been so courteously supplied by the general, Sir Francis Drake, the same having been most sufficient to have performed the greatest part of the premises, must ever make me to think the hand of God only (for some his good purpose to myself yet unknown) to have been in the matter.

*The Second Part, touching the conspiracy of Pemisapan, the discovery of the same, and at the last of our request to depart with Sir Francis Drake for England.*

'Enenore, a savage, father to Pemisapan, being the only friend to our nation that we had among them, and about the king, died the 20th of April 1586. He alone had before opposed himself in their consultations against all matters proposed against us, which both the king and all the rest of them after Grangemoe's death, were very willing to have preferred. And he was not only by the mere providence of God during his life, a mean to save us from hurt, as poisonings and such like, but also to do us very great good, and singularly in this. The king was advised, and of himself disposed, as a ready mean to have assuredly brought us to ruin in the month of March 1586, himself also with all his savages to have run away from us, and to have left his ground in the island unsowed. Which, if he had done, there had been no possibility

in common reason, (but by the immediate hand of God) that we could have been preserved from starving out of hand. For at that time we had no wears for fish, neither could our men skill of the making of them, neither had we one grain of corn for seed to put into the ground.

'In mine absence on my voyage that I had made against the Chaonists and Mangoaks, they had raised a bruit *(report)* among themselves, that I and my company were part slain, and part starved by the Chaonists and Mangoaks. One part of this tale was too true, that I and mine were like to be starved, but the other false. Nevertheless, until my return, it took such effect in Pemisapan's breast, and in those against us, that they grew not only into contempt of us, but also (contrary to their former reverend opinion in shew of the Almighty God of heaven and Jesus Christ, whom we serve and worship, whom before they would acknowledge and confess the only God) now they began to blaspheme, and flatly to say, that our Lord God was not God, since he suffered us to sustain much hunger, and also to be killed by the Renapoaks, for so they call by that general name all the inabitants of the whole main, of what province soever. Insomuch as old Ensenore, neither any of his fellows could for his sake have any more credit for us; and it came so far, that the king was resolved to have presently gone away as is aforesaid.

'But even in the beginning of this bruit I returned. Which when he saw contrary to his expectation, and the advertisement that he had received; that not only myself and my company were all safe, but also by report of his own three savages, which had been with me beside Manteo in that voyage, (that is to say, Tetepano, his sister's husband Eracano, and Cossine), that the Chaonists and Mangoaks (whose name and multitude, beside their valour, is terrible to all the rest of the provinces) durst not for the most part of them abide us, and that those that did abide us were killed; and that we had taken Menatonon prisoner, and brought his son that he best loved

to Roanoke with me, it did not a little assuage all devices against us: on the other side, it made Ensenore's opinions to be received again with greater respect. For he had often before told them, and then renewed those his former speeches, both to the king and the rest, that we were the servants of God, and that we were not subject to be destroyed by them; but contrarywise, that they among them that sought our destruction, should find their own, and not be able to work ours, and that we being dead men were able to do them more hurt, than now we could do being alive; an opinion very confidently at this day holden by the wisest among them, and of their old men, as also that they have been in the night, being 100 miles from any of us, in the air shot at, and struck by some men of ours, that by sickness had died among them; and many of them hold opinion, that we be dead men returned into the world again, and that we do not remain dead but for a certain time, and that then we return again. All these speeches then again grew in full credit with them, the king and all, touching us, when he saw the small troop returned again, and in that sort from those whose very names were terrible unto them. But that which made up the matter on our side for that time was an accident, yea, rather (as all the rest was) the good providence of the Almighty for the saving of us, which was this:—

'Within certain days after my return from the said journey, Menatonon sent a messenger to visit his son the prisoner with me, and sent me certain pearl for a present, or rather as Pemisapan told me, for the ransom of his son, and therefore I refused them.' But the greatest cause of his sending then, was to signify unto me, that he had commanded Okisko, king of Weopomiok, to yield himself servant and homager to the great Weroanza of England, and after her to Sir Walter Ralegh. To perform which commandment, received from Menatonon, the said Okisko, jointly with this Menatonon's messenger, sent four-and-twenty of his principal men to Roan-

oke to Pemisapan, to signify that they were ready to perform the same, and so had sent those his men to let me know, that from that time forward he and his successors were to acknowledge her Majesty their only sovereign, and next unto her as is aforesaid. All which being done, and acknowledged by them all in the presence of Pemisapan his father, and all his savages in counsel then with him, it did for the time thoroughly (as it seemed) change him in disposition toward us. Insomuch as forthwith Ensenore won this resolution of him, that out of hand he should go about, and withal to cause his men to set up wears forthwith for us. Both which he at that present went in hand withal, and did so labour the expedition of it, that in the end of April he had sowed a good quantity of ground, so much as had been sufficient to have fed our whole company (God blessing the growth) and that by the belly for a whole year; beside that he gave us a certain plot of ground for ourselves to sow. All which put us in marvellous comfort, if we could pass from April until the beginning of July, (which was to have been the beginning of their harvest), that then a new supply out of England, or else our own store, would well enough maintain us. All our fear was of the two months betwixt, in which mean space, if the savages should not help us with Cassaui and Chyna, and that our wears should fail us, (as often they did) we might very well starve, notwithstanding the growing corn; like the starving horse in the stable, with the growing grass, as the proverb is, which we very hardly had escaped but only by the hand of God, as it pleased him to try us.

'For within few days after as before is said, Ensenore our friend died, who was no sooner dead, but, certain of our great enemies about Pemisapan, as Osacan a Weroance, Tanaquiny and Wanchese, most principally, were in hand again to put their old practices in use against us, which were readily embraced, and all their former devices against us renewed, and new brought in question. But that of starving us by

their forbearing to sow, was broken by Ensenore in his life, by having made the king all at one instant to sow his ground, not only in the island, but also at Desamonquepeio in the main, within two leagues over against us. Nevertheless there wanted no store of mischievous practices among them, and of all they resolved principally of this following.

'First, that Okisko, king of Weopomeiok, with the Mandoages should be moved, and with great quantity of copper entertained, to the number of seven or eight hundred bows, to enterprise the matter thus to be ordered. They of Weopomeiok should be invited to a certain kind of months-mind, which they do use to solemnise in their savage manner for any great personage dead, and should have been for Ensenore. At this instant also should the Mandoaks, who were a great people, with the Chesapeans and their friends to the number of 700 of them, be armed at a day appointed to the main of Desamonquepeio, and there lying close at the sign of fires, which should interchangeably be made on both sides, when Pemisapan with his troop above named should have executed me, and some of our Weroances (as they called all our principal officers), the main forces of the rest should have come over into the island, where they meant to have dispatched the rest of the company, whom they did imagine to find both dismayed and dispersed abroad in the island, seeking of crabs and fish to live withal. The manner of their enterprise was this.—Tarraquine and Andacon, two principal men about Pemisapan, and very lusty fellows, with twenty more appointed to them, had the charge of my person to see an order taken for the same, which they meant should in this sort have been executed. In the dead time of the night they would have beset my house, and put fire in the reeds that the same was covered with; meaning (as it was likely) that myself would have come running out of a sudden amazed in my shirt without arms, upon the instant whereof they would have knocked out my brains. The same order was given to cer-

tain of his fellows, for Mr. Heriot; so for all the rest of our better sort, all our houses at one instant being set on fire as afore is said, and that as well for them of the fort, as for us at the town.

'Now to the end that we might be the fewer in number together, and so be the more easily dealt withal, (for indeed ten of us without arms prepared, were a terror to a hundred of the best sort of them), they agreed, and did immediately put it in practice, that they should not for any copper sell us any victuals whatsoever. Beside, that in the night they should send to have our wears robbed, and also to cause them to be broken, and once being broken never to be repaired again by them. By this means the king stood assured, that I must be enforced for lack of sustenance there, to disband my company into sundry places to live upon shell fish, for so the savages themselves do, going to Hatteras, Croatoan, and other places, fishing and hunting, while their grounds be in sowing, and their corn growing; which failed not his expectation. For the famine grew so extreme among us, our wears failing us of fish, that I was enforced to send Captain Stafford with 20 with him to Croatoan, my Lord Admiral's island, to serve two turns in one; that is to say, to feed himself and his company, and also to keep watch if any shipping came upon the coast to warn us of the same. I sent Mr. Prideaux with the pinnace to Hatteras, and ten with him, with the provost marshal, to live there, and also to wait for shipping; also, I sent every week sixteen or twenty of the rest of the company to the main over against us, to live of casada and oysters.

'In the meanwhile Pemisapan went of purpose to Desamonquepeio for three causes. The one, to see his grounds there broken up, and sowed for a second crop; the other to withdraw himself from my daily sending to him for supply of victual for my company. For he was afraid to deny me any thing, neither durst he in my presence, but by colour and with excuses, which I was content to accept for the time, meaning in the

end, as I had reason, to give him the jump once for all; but, in the meanwhile, as I had ever done before, I and mine bear all wrongs, and accepted of all excuses. My purpose was to have relied myself with Menatonon and the Chaonists, who in truth, as they are more valiant people, and in greater number than the rest, so are they more faithful in their promises, and, since my late being there, had given many tokens of earnest desire they had to join in perfect league with us, and therefore were greatly offended with Pemisapan and Weopomeiok for making him believe such tales of us. The third cause of his going to Dasamonquepeio was to dispatch his messengers to Weopomeiok, and to the Mandoages, as aforesaid; all which he did with great impress of copper in hand, making large promises to them of greater spoil.

'The answer within few days after came from Weopomeiok, which was divided into two parts. First, for the King Okisko, who denied to be of the party for himself, or any of his especial followers, and therefore did immediately retire himself with his force into the main. The other was concerning the rest of the said province who accepted of it; and in like sort the Mandoages received the impress.

'The day of their assembly aforesaid at Roanoke was appointed the 10th of June. All which the premises were discovered by Skyko, the King Menatonon's son, my prisoner; who having once attempted to run away, I laid him in the bilboes, threatening to cut off his head, whom I remitted at Pemisapan's request. Whereupon, he being persuaded that he was our enemy to the death, he did not only feed him with himself, but also made him acquainted with all his practices. On the other side, the young man finding himself as well used at my hand, as I had means to shew, and that all my company made much of him, he flatly discovered all unto me, which also afterward was revealed unto me by one of Pemisapan's own men, that night before he was slain.

'These mischiefs being all instantly upon me and my com-

pany to be put in execution, it stood me in hand to study how to prevent them, and also to save all others, which were at that time as aforesaid so far from me. Whereupon I sent to Pemisapan, to put suspicion out of his head, that I meant presently to go to Croatoan, for that I had heard of the arrival of our fleet, (though I in truth had neither heard nor hoped for so good adventure), and that I meant to come by by him, to borrow of his men to fish for my company, and to hunt for me at Croatoan, as also to buy some four days provisions to serve for my voyage. He sent me word, that he would himself come over to Roanoke. But from day to day he deferred, only to bring the Weopomeiokes with him and the Mandoags, whose time appointed was within eight days after. It was the last of May 1586, when all his own savages began to make their assembly at Roanoke, at his commandment sent abroad unto them; and I resolved not to stay longer upon his coming over, since he meant to come with so good company, but thought good to go and visit him with such as I had, which I resolved to do the next day. But that night I meant, by the way, to give them in the island a canuisado, and at the instant to seize upon all the canoes about the island to keep him from advertisements. But the town took the alarm before I meant it to them; the occasion was this.—I had sent the master of the light horseman, with a few with him, to gather up all the canoes in the setting of the sun, and to take as many as were going from us to Dasamonquepeio, but to suffer any that came from thence to land. He met with a canoe going from the shore, and overthrew the canoe, and cut off two savages heads. This was not done so secretly but he was discovered from the shore; whereupon the cry arose, for in truth they, privy to their own villanous purposes against us, held as good espial upon us, both day and night, as we did upon them.

'The alarm given they took themselves to their bows, and we to our arms. Some three or four of them at the first were

slain with our shot, the rest fled into the woods. The next morning, with the light horseman and one canoe, taking twenty-five with the colonel of the Chesepians, and the serjeant-major, I went to Desamonquepeio; and being landed, sent Pemisapan word by one of his own savages who met me at the shore, that I was going to Croatoan, and meant to take him in the way, to complain unto him of Osocon, who the night past was conveying away my prisoner, whom I had there present tied in an handlock. Hereupon the king did abide my coming to him: and, finding myself amid seven or eight of his principal Weroances and followers, (not regarding any of the common sort) I gave the watch-word agreed upon, (which was, *Christ our victory*) and immediately those his chief men and himself had, by the mercy of God for our deliverance, that which they had purposed for us. The king himself being shot through by the colonel with a pistol, lying on the ground for dead, and I looking as watchfully for the saving of Manteo's friends, as others were busy that none of the rest should escape, suddenly he started up, and ran away as though he had not been touched, insomuch as he overran all the company, being by the way shot through the buttocks by my Irish boy with my petronal. In the end, an Irishman serving me, one Nugent, and the deputy provost, undertook him; and following him in the woods, overtook him; and, I in some doubt lest we had lost both the king and my man by our own negligence to have been intercepted by the savages, we met him returning out of the woods with Pemisapan's head in his hand.

'This fell out the 1st of June 1586, and the 8th of the same came advertisement to me from Captain Stafford, lying at my Lord Admiral's island, that he had discovered a great fleet of 23 sail; but whether they were friends or foes he could not yet discern. He advised me to stand upon as good guard as I could. The 9th of the said month he himself came unto me, having that night before, and that same day travelled by land

twenty miles; and I must truly report of him, from the first to the last, he was the gentleman that never spared labour or peril either by land or water, fair weather or foul, to perform any service committed unto him. He brought me a letter from the general, Sir Francis Drake, with a most bountiful and honourable offer for the supply of our necessities to the performance of the action we were entered into; and that not only of victuals, ammunition, and clothing, but also of barks, pinnaces, and boats; they also by him to be victualled, manned, and furnished to my contentation. The tenth day he arrived in the road of our bad harbour; and coming there to an anchor, the eleventh day I came to him, whom I found in deeds most honourably to perform that which in writing and message he had most courteously offered, he having aforehand propounded the matter to all the captains of his fleet, and got their liking and consent thereto.

'With such thanks unto him and his captains for his care both of us and of our action, not as the matter deserved, but as I could both for my company and myself, I (being aforehand prepared what I would desire) craved at his hands, that it would please him to take with him into England a number of weak and unfit men for my good action, which I would deliver to him; and in place of them to supply me of his company with ore-men, artificers, and others. That he would leave us so much shipping and victual, as about August then next following would carry me and all my company into England, when we had discovered somewhat, that, for lack of needful provision in time left with us, as yet remained undone. That it would please him withal to leave some sufficient masters, not only to carry us into England, when time should be, but also to search the coast for some better harbour, if there were any, and especially to help us to some small boats and ore-men. Also for a supply of calivers, hand-weapons, match and lead, tools, apparel, and such like.

'He having received these my requests, according to his

usual commendable manner of government (as it was told me) calling his captains to counsel; the resolution was, that I should send such of my officers of my company as I used in such matters, with their notes, to go aboard with him; which were the master of the victuals, the keeper of the store, and the vice-treasurer; to whom he appointed forthwith for me the Francis, being a very proper bark of seventy tons, and took present order for bringing of victual aboard her for 100 men for four months, with all my other demands whatsoever to the uttermost. And farther, he appointed for me two pinnaces, and four small boats; and, that which was to perform all his former liberality toward us was, that he had gotten the full assents of two of as sufficient experimented masters as were any in his fleet, by judgment of them that knew them, with very sufficient gangs, to tarry with me, and to employ themselves most earnestly in the action, as I should appoint them, until the term which I promised of our return into England again. The names of one of those masters was Abraham Kendall, the other Griffith Herne.

'While these things were in hand, the provission aforesaid being brought and in bringing aboard, my said masters being also gone aboard, my said barks having accepted of their charge, and my own officers, with others in like sort of my company with them, (all which was dispatched by the said general the 12th of the said month), the 13th of the same there arose such an unwonted storm, and continued four days, that had like to have driven all on shore, if the Lord had not held his holy hand over them, and the general very providently foreseen the worst himself, then about my dispatch putting himself aboard. But in the end having driven sundry of the fleet to put to sea, the Francis also with all my provisions, my two masters, and my company aboard, she was seen to be free from the same, and to put clear to sea.

'This storm having continued from the 13th to the 16th of the month, and thus my bark put away as aforesaid, the gen-

eral coming ashore made a new proffer unto me. Which was, a ship of 170 tons, called the Bark Bonner, with a sufficient master and guide to tarry with me the time appointed, and victualled sufficiently to carry me and my company into England, with all provisions as before. But he told me that he would not for any thing undertake to have her brought into our harbour, and therefore he was to leave her in the road, and to leave the care of the rest unto myself, and advised me to consider with my company of our case, and to deliver presently unto him in writing what I would require him to do for us; which, being within his power, he did assure me, as well for his captains as for himself, should be most willingly performed.

'Hereupon calling such captains and gentlemen of my company as then were at hand, who were all as privy as myself to the general's offer, their whole request was to me; that considering the case that we stood in, the weakness of our company, the small number of the same, the carrying away of our first appointed bark, with those two especial masters, with our principal provisions in the same, by the very hand of God, as it seemed stretched out to take us from thence; considering also, that his second offer, though most honourable of his part, yet of ours not to be taken, insomuch as there was no possibility for her, with any safety, to be brought into the harbour; seeing, farthermore, our hope for supply with Sir Richard Greenville, so undoubtedly promised us before Easter, not yet come, neither then likely to come this year; considering the doings in England for Flanders, and also for America; that therefore I would resolve myself with my company to go into England in that fleet, and accordingly to make request to the general in all our names, that he would be pleased to give us present passage with him. Which request of ours by myself delivered unto him, he most readily assented unto. And so he sending immediately his pinnaces unto our island for the fetching away of a few that there were left with our baggage, the weather was so boisterous, and

the pinnaces so often on ground, that the most of all we had with all our charts, books, and writings, were by the sailor cast overboard; the greater number of the fleet being much aggrieved with their long and dangerous abode in that miserable road.

'From whence the general, in the name of the Almighty, weighing his anchors (having bestowed us among his fleet, for the relief of whom, he had in that storm sustained more peril of wreck than in all his former most honourable actions against the Spaniards), with praises unto God for all, set sail June 19, 1586, and arrived in Portsmouth July 27th the same year.'

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## N°. VI.

### A VOYAGE TO THE AZORES WITH TWO PINNACES, THE ONE CALLED THE SERPENT, AND THE OTHER THE MARY SPARK OF PLYMOUTH, BOTH OF THEM BELONGING TO SIR WALTER RALEGH, WRITTEN BY JOHN EVESHAM, GENTLEMAN, WHEREIN WERE TAKEN THE GOVERNOR OF THE ISLE OF ST. MICHAEL, AND PEDRO SARMIENTO, GOVERNOR OF THE STRAITS OF MAGALANES, IN THE YEAR 1586.

'The 10th of June 1586, we departed from Plymouth with two pinnaces, the one named the Serpent, of the burden of thirty-five tons, and the other the Mary Spark of Plymouth, of the burden of fifty tons, both of them belonging to Sir Walter Ralegh, knight; and directing our course toward the coast of Spain, and from thence toward the isles of the Azores, we took a small bark laden with summack and other commodities, wherein was the governor of St. Michael's isl-

and, being a Portuguese, having other Portuguese and Spaniards with him. And from thence we sailed to the island of Graciosa, to the westward of the island of Tercera, where we descried a sail, and bearing with her, we found her to be a Spaniard. But at the first not greatly respecting whom we took, so that we might have enriched ourselves, which was the cause of this our travail, and for that we would not be known of what nation we were, we displayed a white silk ensign in our main-top; which they seeing, made account that we had been some of the king of Spain's armadas, lying in wait for English men of war. But when we came within shot of her, we took down our white flag, and spread abroad the cross of S'. George, which when they saw, it made them to fly as fast as they might. But all their haste was in vain, for our ships were swifter of sail than they, which they fearing, did presently cast their ordnance and small shot, with many letters, and the draft of the straits of Magelan, into the sea. And thereupon immediately we took her, wherein we also took a gentleman of Spain, named Pedro Sarmiento, governor of the straits of Magelan, which said Pedro we brought into England with us, and presented him to our sovereign lady the queen.

'After this, lying off and about the islands, we descried another sail, and bearing after her, we spent the main-mast of our admiral, but yet in the night our vice-admiral took her, being laden with fish from Cape Blanc, the which ship we let go again for want of men to bring her home. The next day we descried two other sail, the one a ship, and the other a caravel, to whom we gave chace. Which they seeing, with all speed made in under the isle of Graciosa, to a certain fort there for their succour, where they came to an anchor, and having the wind of us, we could not hurt them with our ships. But we having a small boat, which we called a light-horseman, wherein myself was, being a musqueteer, and four more with calivres, and four that rowed, came

near unto the shore against the wind. Who when they saw us come toward them, they carried a great part of their merchandize on land, whither also the men of both vessels went and landed. And as soon as we came within musquet-shot, they began to shoot at us with great ordnance and small shot, and we likewise at them. And in the end we boarded one ship, wherein was no man left, so we cut her cables, hoisted her sails, and sent her away with two of our men. And the other seven of us passed more near unto the shore, and boarded the caraval, which did ride within a stone's cast from the shore, and so near the land that the people did cast stones at us. But yet, in despite of them all, we took her, and one only negro therein; and cutting her cables in the hawse, we hoisted her sails, and being becalmed under the land, we were constrained to row her out with our boat, the fort still shooting at us, and the people on land with musquets and calivers, to the number of 150, or thereabout; and we answered them with the small force we had. In the time of which our shooting, the shot of my musquet, being a cross bar shot, happened to strike the gunner of the fort to death, even as he was giving level to one of his great pieces; and thus we parted from them without any loss or hurt on our side. And now, having taken these five sail of ships, we did as before, turn away the ship with the fish, without hurting them, and from one of the other ships we took her main-mast to serve our admiral's turn, and so sent her away, putting into her all the Spaniards and Portugese, (saving that gentleman Pedro Sarmiento, with three other of the principal men, and two negroes), leaving them all within sight of land, with bread and water sufficient for ten days, if need were.

'Thus setting our course for England, being off the islands in the height of 41°, or thereabout, one of our men being in the top, descried a sail, then ten sail, then fifteen, whereupon it was concluded to send home those prizes we had, and so left in both our pinnaces not above 60 men. Thus we return-

ed again to the fleet we had descried, where we found 24 sail of ships, whereof two of them were caracs, the one of 1,200, and the other of 1,000 tons, and 10 galeons; the rest were small ships and caravels, all laden with treasure, spices, and sugars. With which 24 ships, we, with two small pinnaces, did fight, and kept company the space of 32 hours, continually fighting with them, and they with us; but the two caracs kept still betwixt the fleet and us, that we could not take any one of them. So, wanting powder, we were forced to give them over against our wills, for that we were all wholly bent to the gaining of some of them, but necessity compelling us, and that only for want of powder, without loss of any of our men, (which was a thing to be wondered at, considering the inequality of number), at length we gave them over.

'Thus we again set our course for England, and so came to Plymouth within six hours after our prizes, which we sent away 40 hours before us. Where we were received with triumphant joy, not only with great ordnance then shot off, but with the willing hearts of all the people of the town, and and of the country thereabout; and we not sparing our ordnance (with the powder we had left) to requite and answer them again. And from thence we brought our prizes to Southampton, where Sir Walter Ralegh, being our owner, rewarded us with our shares. Our prizes were laden with sugars, elephant's teeth, wax, hides, rice, brasil, and cuser, as by the testimony of John Evesham himself, Captain Whiddon, Thomas Rainford, Benjamin Wood, William Cooper, master; William Cornish, master; Thomas Drake, corporal; John Ladd, gunner; William Warefield, gunner; Richard Moore, John Drew, Richard Cooper of Harwich, William Beares of Ratcliffe, John Row of Saltash, and many others, may appear.'

## N°. VII.

DETERMINATIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF WAR, HELD NOVEMBER 27, 1587, FOR PUTTING THE FORCES OF THE REALM IN THE BEST POSTURE OF DEFENCE AGAINST THE THREATENED INVASION.

[From a MS. seen by Oldys, and probably composed by Ralegh.—See Oldys' Life of Ralegh, p. 39.]

'They first numbered up the places most suspected for the army from Spain, and also those most convenient for that in Flanders to land at; then concluded how many of those places were to be put in defence to hinder their landing. And first, they took notice of Milford; which though they did not suspect would be preferred, for the barrenness of the country, yet in regard to the goodness of the haven, they thought it convenient there should be a trained number of 2,000 foot, and 500 horse in readiness; and that in want of horsemen, the gentlemen and their servants were to supply the deficiency. But Plymouth they thought the most likely place, because it was improbable the king of Spain would venture his fleet too far within the sleeve before he had mastered some good harbour, of which Plymouth is nearest to Spain, soonest fortified, and most convenient to be succoured either from Spain or France. Portland they also thought a tempting place, having a large harbour, and good landing. The isle of Wight they considered as a strong retreat, if won, and the country adjoining champaign, where the enemy might march his whole army. And why they thought the Downs, Margate, and the Thames, fit landing places, was in regard to the easiness of

landing, and being nearest the prince of Parma, in whose forces the king of Spain reposed special trust.

'Then they consulted whether these places were to be strengthened by fortification, or assembly of the people, or both; and concluded, that for Plymouth there should be both; and that the 5,000 trained men in Devon and Cornwall, beside the stannaries, were to be assembled for Plymouth, standing equal to both counties; of this number, instead of muster-days, chargeable and of little effect, 2,000 should be assembled in Plymouth, under the general to be appointed over the western army, that they might know their leaders, be acquainted with watch and ward, and so instructed, that on a sudden there might be no confusion; and this to be half at the charge of her Majesty, and half on the country, if the country charge surmounted not the ordinary trainings. Portland also was to be armed both by fortification and assembly; for the 2,700 trained men in Dorsetshire and Wiltshire were to be assembled for that place; and 2,000 of them to be exercised as before, in some part of Wiltshire, appointed for the isle of Wight, to take Somersetshire in, in which there are 2,000 foot. At Sandwich and the Downs by assembly. In Kent and Sussex, the 4,500 trained men to be assembled for defence there; and 2,000 of them to be exercised at Sandwich as before. The like order to be taken for Norfolk and Suffolk. Their farther meaning was, that these garrisons should remain but for twenty days, to be thoroughly trained and acquainted with encamping. Then every such 2,000 men in garrison thus disciplined, should give example to a great army of raw men, so prevent confusion on a sudden. Farther, that 20 captains should be appointed to every such 2,000 men, which captains having each of them 100 trained men, should receive under them, when the army assembled, 100 more; so as in effect there would be 4,000 men in order, and under martial discipline. Half these captains were to be chosen by the general of the army, the rest to be from the principal

gentry of the country; under whom were soldiers to be appointed for their lieutenants. And the same order to be observed in all other places of garrison.

'Then they considered on the course to be taken for fighting the enemy, if by force he should land. And this they agreed must be left to the discretion of the general; only advised, if they could not prevent his landing and marching forward, that the country be driven, so as no victuals remain to the invaders, and that they be kept waking with perpetual alarms, but in nowise to venture battle, till divers lieutenants were assembled to make a strong army, as before specified; except upon special advantages. Farther, that in those provinces where there are many lieutenants, some one to be appointed chief leader, that there be no straining of courtesy among one another, and giving thereby advantage to the enemy; but that every lieutenant's authority shall only extend to the command of his own company, as colonel of that regiment, and be commanded by the lieutenants general; as in Devon and Cornwall, there being ten lieutenants; whereby it shall be known who shall command in either, as need shall require.

'Next they considered what proportion of men must be prepared for this end. Here, supposing the enemy landed at Plymouth, they computed that the 6000 armed and furnished in Devon and Cornwall, with the assistance of those in Wiltshire, Dorset, and Somersetshire, would make a sufficient army, strengthened with the gentlemen, their retinue, and others of the neighbouring counties, to be incorporated, though not so completely armed; and if by resistance, or contrary weather, the enemy pass over Plymouth, and land at Portland, then the army of the west shall repair to them. If the invasion happen upon Kent, or other part to the west of the Thames, then the midland shires directed to assist the west, may turn to the east along the coast. If the army in Flanders land to the east of the Thames, the same order to be taken with Suf-

folk, Norfolk, Sussex, and the city of London. And because special regard was to be had to her Majesty's person, an army should be provided, and commanded under counties reserved for that end, to join the forces of London and others, to be armed out of her Majesty's stores. Farther, for the increase of footmen wanting armour, among one fourth of the able unarmed men eighty should be pikes and twenty bill-men, and those weapons speedily to be provided, they being furnished by the realm. Aud for the increase of pike-men in this scarcity of armour, that the bill-men be converted into pike-men, and that able bill-men unarmed should be levied in their places; because the ranks of bill-men in order to battle are alway environed with pikemen, for the bill-men serve specially for execution, if the enemy be overthrown; only a few armed bill-men or halberdiers reserved to guard the ranks wherein the ensigns, drums, &c. are placed. And because, on a sudden invasion, it will be too late to provide necessaries; store of ordnance, munition, and all other furniture, to be forthwith provided, and sent to the aforesaid garrisons. Also that horse as well as foot be exercised in those general assemblies; and that at Plymouth, Portsmouth, Sandwich, or other places thought fit to have the like training, the horsemen of the next counties be also brought together, as at Plymouth those of Devon, Cornwal, and Somersetshire; at Portland those of Dorset, Wilts, Hampshire, and Berkshire; and at Sandwich those of Kent, Sussex, and Surry. And because in these places for training the infantry, there may want forage and conveniencies for horsemen, the lieutenants may chuse the fittest for the cavalry as near the foot as they can. But as they cannot resist the landing in Scotland, they proposed 6000 foot and 2000 horse, whereof 1000 to be lances, for that side. And if these shall be thought too weak for the army in Flanders, when it lands there, a good part of the army appointed to guard her Majesty may be detached to join the army in the north, and the army of the west march up to supply their charge.

'They also considered the king of Spain's hopes in the papists and malcontents; and that if those small regiments were not in readiness, it would be too late to assemble, both for resisting a foreign enemy and withstanding these at home in one day. For every man would rest in fear of having his own house fired, and his family destroyed; therefore, if they made any stir, severe execution upon such offenders should be used by martial law. Farther, that it should be bruited in Spain, a vast army of double or treble the number was ready in the west, and other coasts of England, to embark for Portugal or the Indies; the same opinion being fortified by the preparation of so many ships making ready in those parts by Sir Francis Drake. They also thought, that throughout all the counties of England the proportion among the armed and trained as well as unarmed pikes and bills, should be eighty pikes and twenty bills in every hundred. And lastly, cautioned the lords of the council to be wary of her Majesty's ships lying at Rochester.'

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## N°. VIII.

### AN ASSIGNMENT FROM SIR WALTER RALEGH TO DIVERS GENTLEMEN AND MERCHANTS OF LONDON, FOR THE INHABITING AND PLANTING OF OUR PEOPLE IN VIRGINIA.

[From HAKLUYT's Voyages, 1st edition, folio, 1589, p. 815.]

'This indenture, made the 7th of March, in the 31st year of the reign of our sovereign lady, Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith, &c. between the right worshipful Sir Walter Ralegh, of Colaton Ralegh, in the county of Devon, knight, lord-warden

of the Stannary, and chief-governor of Assamacomock, alias Wingandacoa, alias Virginia, on the one party; and Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, Walter Bayly, William Gamage, Edmund Nevil, Thomas Harding, Walter Marler, Thomas Martin, Gabriel Harris, William George, William Stone, Henry Fleetwood, John Gerrard, Robert Macklyn, Richard Hakluyt, Thomas Hoode, Thomas Wade, Richard Wright, Edmund Walden, merchants of London, and adventurers to Virginia aforesaid, John White, Roger Bayly, Ananias Dayre, Christopher Cooper, John Samson, Thomas Steevens, Roger Prat, Dionese Harvey, John Nichols, Humphrey Dimmocke, late of London, gentlemen, of the other party; witnesseth, that whereas Sir Walter Ralegh, knight, by virtue of the queen's majesty's letters patents, dated at Westminster the 25th day of March, in the 26th year of her Highness' reign, unto him the said Sir Walter Ralegh, by the name of her Majesty's trusty and well-beloved servant, Walter Ralegh, Esq. granted for the discovering, finding out, and planting of unknown and remote lands and countries, as by the said letters patents at large doth, and may more plainly appear, hath by this indenture of grant bearing date after the computation of England the 7th day of January in the year of our Lord God 1587, and in the 29th year of the reign of our sovereign lady Queen Elizabeth, made betwixt him the said Sir Walter Ralegh, Kt. of the one party, and John Whyte, Roger Bayly, Ananias Dayre, Christopher Cooper, John Sampson, Thomas Steevens, William Fulwood, Roger Prat, Dionise Harvey, John Nichols, George Howe, James Plat, and Simon Ferdinando, of London, gentlemen, of the other party, granted unto the said John White, Roger Bayly, and the rest, free liberty to carry with them into the late discovered barbarous land and country called Assamacomock, alias Wingandacoa, alias Virginia, there to inhabit with them, such, and so many of her Majesty's subjects, as shall willingly accompany them, together with sufficient shipping and furniture for the same;

and also divers and sundry other prerogatives, jurisdictions, royalties, and pre-eminences, as in and by the said indenture of grant, it doth, and may more at large also appear.

'Now the said Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, Walter Bayly, William Gamage, Edmund Nevill, Thomas Harding, Walter Marler, Thomas Martin, Gabriel Harris, William George, William Stone, Henry Fleetwood, John Gerrard, Robert Macklin, Richard Hakluyt, Thomas Hoode, Thomas Wade, Richard Wright, Edmund Walden, and others, adventurers as aforesaid, purposing, and intending to be made free of the corporation, company, and society lately made by the said Sir Walter Ralegh, in the city of Ralegh, intended to be erected and builded in Assamacomock, alias Wingandacoa, alias Virginia aforesaid, as by his said indenture made to the said John Whyte, Roger Bayly, and the rest more at large it doth appear, do upon the sealing, effecting, and confirmation of these patents, adventure divers and sundry sums of money, merchandizes, shipping, munition, victual, and other commodities, into the said foreign and remote country of Assamacomock, alias Wingandacoa, alias Virginia aforesaid. In consideration as well of which adventure, as also for divers and sundry other good causes and considerations, him the said Sir Walter Ralegh thereunto especially moving, the said Sir Walter Ralegh hath given, granted, covenanted, and promised, and by these presents for himself, his heirs, and assigns and every of them, doth give, grant, covenant, and promise, to and with the said Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, Walter Bayly, William Gamage, Edmund Nevil, Thomas Harding, Walter Marler, Thomas Martin, Gabriel Harris, William George, William Stone, Henry Fleetwood, John Gerrard, Robert Macklin, Richard Hakluyt, Thomas Hoode, Thomas Wade, Richard Wright, Edmund Walden, and others, adventurers, aforesaid, and unto and with the said John White, Roger Bayly, Ananias Dayre, Christopher Cooper, John Samson, Thomas Steevens, Roger Prat, Dionise Harvey,

John Nichols, Humphrey Dimmocke, and every of them, their heirs and assigns, and the heirs and assigns of every of them, and their, and every of their deputies, factors or apprentices, who shall serve them, or any of them by the space of seven years, that they, and every, or any of them, shall from time to time and at all times for ever have free trade and traffic for all manner of merchandize, or commodities whatsoever, unto, in, and from all that part of America called Assamacomock, alias Wingandacoa, alias Virginia aforesaid, or unto, or from any other part or country, of, or in America aforesaid, where he the said Sir Walter Ralegh, his heirs or assigns, or any other person or persons claiming or pretending any manner of right, title, or interest, or which hereafter shall or may claim, or pretend any right, title, or interest, by, from, or under him the said Sir Walter Ralegh, hath, challengeth, claimeth, or may or shall hereafter, have, challenge, or claim any interest, jurisdiction, title, rule, or privilege, by any conveyance, or discovery heretofore made, or hereafter to be made, or by any other way or means whatsoever.

'And farther, the said Sir Walter Ralegh, as well for, and in especial regard and zeal of planting the Christian religion in and among the said barbarous and heathen countries, and for the advancement and preferment of the same, and the common utility and profit of the inhabitants therein, as also for the encouragement of the said Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, Walter Bayly, William Gamage, Edmund Nevill, Thomas Harding, Walter Marler, Thomas Martin, Gabriel Harris, William George, William Stone, Henry Fleetwood, John Gerrard, Robert Macklin, Richard Hakluyt, Thomas Hood, Thomas Wade, Richard Wright, Edmund Walden, John White, John Nichols, and the other assistants now lying in Virginia, and others adventurers aforesaid, their heirs, and assigns, doth by these pretents, freely and liberally dispose and give unto them, the said Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, and the rest aforesaid, the sum of £100 of lawful money

of England, to be by them adventured and disposed in and among other their adventures unto the places and countries before mentioned, to have, hold, occupy, use, employ, possess, enjoy, and dispose, as well the said sum of £100, given as aforesaid, as also all such gain, profit, commodity, advantage, and increase, as they by God's assistance, shall thereof make to their only uses and behoofs, and to the uses and behoofs of the several heirs, executors, and assigns of them and every of them, without rendering any account for the same, or any parcel thereof, to the said Sir Walter Ralegh, his heirs, executors, or assigns, or any of them.

"And the said Sir Walter Ralegh, for himself, his heirs and assigns, and every of them, doth farther covenant and grant, to, and with the said Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, Walter Bayly, William Gamage, Edmund Neyll, Thomas Harding, Walter Marler, and the rest aforesaid, and to and with the said John White, Roger Bayly, Ananias Dayre, Christopher Cooper, John Sampson, Thomas Steevens, Roger Prat, Dionise Harvey, John Nichols, and Humphry Dymmock, and the heirs and assigns of them, and every of them, by these presents, to discharge, save and keep harmless from time to time, and at all times for ever, them and every of them, their several heirs and assigns, and every of them, and the deputies, factors, and servants of them, and every of them, and apprentices of them, and every or any of them, who shall serve them or any of them the space of seven years, of and from all rents, subsidies, customs, tolls, taxes, tallages, and all other charges, services, duties, and demands, whatsoever, required or demanded, or to be required or demanded, at any time or times hereafter, or for the trading or transporting any commodity or profit, into or from the said country of Assamacomock, alias Wingandacoa, alias Virginia aforesaid, or any other country in America aforesaid, whereunto or wherein the said Sir Walter Ralegh, his heirs or assigns, hath or may or shall have any interest, right, or title, by virtue of the said letters

patents, or by any discovery, or other means whatsoever, or for any other matter, cause, or thing whatsoever; the fifth part of all the ore of gold and silver, that from time to time, and at all times after such discovery, subduing and possessing as aforesaid, shall be there gotten and obtained, (alway reserved to the use of the said Sir Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns) only excepted and foreprised.

'And the said Sir Walter Ralegh doth farther covenant and grant by these presents for him, his heirs and assigns, to and with the said Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, and the rest aforesaid their heirs and assigns, that he the said Sir Walter Ralegh, his heirs or assigns, upon sufficient and reasonable request made to him by the persons aforesaid, or any of them, their heirs or assigns, shall and will at any time or times hereafter, ratify, affirm, and approve by his deed or deeds, or by any other conveyance or conveyances in law, the corporation heretofore made by him the said Sir Walter Ralegh, consisting of one governor and twelve assistants, as by his said indenture made to John White and others, more plainly doth appear, for the more perfect and better assurance, and sure making of the said corporation, if any imperfection and want in law thereof be. And farther, that he the said Sir Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, shall and will, as much as in him or them lieth, procure and endeavour to obtain the queen's Majesty's letters patents, for ratification, approbation, and more sure confirmation, of the said corporation and society, with all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, and preeminences, whatsoever granted and conveyed by her Majesty to the said Sir Walter Ralegh his heirs or assigns, or by him the said Sir Walter Ralegh, to the said John White and others, as by his said indenture of grant made to the said John White, and others more plainly appeareth. In witness whereof, the parties to these presents have hereunto interchangeably put their hands and seals, the day and year first above written.'

## N°. IX.

### AN ABSTRACT TAKEN OUT OF CERTAIN SPANIARDS' LETTERS CONCERNING GUIANA, AND THE COUNTRIES LYING UPON THE GREAT RIVER OF ORONOKO; WITH CERTAIN REPORTS ALSO TOUCHING THE SAME.

[From HAKLUYT's Voyages, III, 662, and BIRCH's Works of Ralegh, I. 236.]

*An Advertisement to the reader.*

Those letters out of which the abstracts following are taken, were surprised at sea as they were passing for Spain in the year 1594, by Captain George Popham; who, the next year, and the same that Sir Walter Ralegh discovered Guiana, as he was in a voyage for the West Indies, learned also the reports annexed. All which, at his return, being two months after Sir Walter, as also so long after the writing of the former discourse, hearing also of his discovery, he made known, and delivered to some of her Majesty's most honourable privy council and others. The which, seeing they confirm in some part the substance, I mean the riches of that country, it hath been thought fit that they should be thereunto adjoined. Wherein the reader is to be advertised, that although the Spaniards seem to glory much of their formal possession taken before Morequito the lord of Aromaya, and others thereabout, which thoroughly understood them not at that time, whatsoever the Spaniards otherwise pretend; yet, according to the former discourse, and as also it is related by Caworaco, the son of Topiawari, now chief lord of the said Aromaya, who was brought into England by Sir Walter Ralegh, and was present at the same possession and discovery of the Spaniards mention-

ed in these letters, it appeareth, that after they were gone out of their country, the Indians then having farther consideration of the matter, and more than conjecture of their intent, having known and heard of their former cruelties upon the borderers and others of the Indians elsewhere, at their next coming, there being ten of them sent and employed for a farther discovery, they were provided to receive and entertain them in another manner of sort than they had done before; that is to say, they slew them, and buried them in the country so much sought. They gave them by that means a full and complete possession, the which before they had but begun. And so they are minded to do, to as many Spaniards as come after. Other possession they have had none since. Neither do the Indians mean, as they protest, to give them any other. One other thing to be remembered is, that in these letters the Spaniards seem to call Guiana and other countries near it, bordering upon the river of Oronoko, by the name of Nuevo Dorado, because of the great plenty of gold there in most places to be found; alluding also to the name of El Dorado, which was given by Martinez to the great city of Manoa, as is in the former treatise specified. This is all I thought good to advertise. As for some other matters, I leave them to the consideration and judgment of the indifferent reader.

W. R.'

## LETTERS TAKEN AT SEA BY CAPTAIN GEORGE POPHAM, 1594.

*Alonso's letter from the Gran Canaria to his brother, being commander of S. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.*

'There have been certain letters received here of late of a land newly discovered, called Nuevo Dorado, from the sons of certain inhabitants of this city, who were in the discovery. They write of wonderful riches to be found in the said Do-

rado, and that gold there is in great abundance. The course to fall with it is fifty leagues to the windward of Margarita.'

*Monst's letter from thence to certain merchants of S. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.*

'Sirs,—We have no news worth the writing, saving of a discovery lately made by the Spaniards, in a new land called Nuevo Dorado, which is two days sailing to the windward of Margarita; there is gold in such abundance, as the like hath not been heard of. We have it for certain in letters written from thence by some that were in the discovery, unto their parents here in this city. I purpose (God willing) to bestow ten or twelve days in search of the said Dorado, as I pass in my voyage toward Carthagena, hoping there to make some good sale of our commodities. I have sent you therewith part of the information of the said discovery that was sent to his Majesty.'

*Part of the copy that was sent to his Majesty of the discovery of Nuevo Dorado.*

'In the river of Pato, otherwise called Oronoko, in the principal part thereof called Warismero, the 23d of April 1593, Domingo de Vera, master of the camp, and general for Antonio de Berreo, governor and captain-general for our lord the king, betwixt the rivers of Pato and Papamene, alias Oronoko, and Marannon, and of the island of Trinidad, in presence of me Rodrigo de Carança, register for the sea, commanded all the soldiers to be drawn together and put in order of battle. The master of the camp standing in the midst of the captains and soldiers, said unto them:—'Sirs, soldiers, and captains, you understand long since that our general Antonio de Berreo, with the travel of eleven years, and expence of more than 100,000 pesos of gold, discovered the royal provinces of Guia-

na and Dorado. Of the which he took possession to govern the same, but through want of his people's health, and necessary munition, he issued out at the island Margarita, and from thence peopled Trinidad. But now they have sent me to learn out and discover the ways most easily to enter, and to people the said provinces, and where the camps and armies may best enter the same. By reason whereof I intend so to do in the name of his Majesty, and the said governor Antonio de Berreo; and in token thereof, I require you, Francis Carillo, that you aid me to advance this cross that lieth here on the ground, which they set on end toward the east.' And the said master of the camp, the captains and soldiers kneeled down, and did due reverence unto the said cross. And thereupon the master of the camp took a bowl of water, and drank it off, and took more and threw it abroad on the ground. He also drew out his sword and cut the grass off the ground, and the boughs off the trees, saying, *I take this possession in the name of the king Don Philip, our master, and of his governor Antonio de Berreo.* And because some make question of this possesion, to them I answer, that in these our actions, was present the cassique or principal Don Antonio, otherwise called Morequito, whose land this was, who yielded consent to the said possession, was glad thereof, and gave his obedience to our lord the king, and in his name to the said governor Antonio de Berreo. And the said master of the camp kneeled down, being in his liberty, and all the captains and soldiers said, that the possession was well taken; and that they would defend it with their lives, upon whosoever would say the contrary. And the said master of the camp having his sword drawn in his hand said unto me, *register that are here present, give me an instrument or testimonial to confirm me in this possession which I have taken of this land, for the governor Antonio de Berreo, and if it be needful I will take it anew.* And I require you all that are present to witness the same; and do fur-

ther declare, that I will go on taking possession of all the lands wheresoever I shall enter. Signed thus:

Domingo de Vera. And underneath, *before me* Rodrigo de Caranca, *register of the army.*

'And in prosecution of the said possession, and the discovery of the way and provinces, the 27th of April of the said year, the master of the camp entered by little and little with all the camp and men of war, more than two leagues into the inland, and came to a town of a principal, and conferring with him, did let him understand by means of Antonio Bisante the interpreter, that his Majesty and Antonio de Berreo had sent him to take the said possession. And the said friar Francis Carillo, by the interpreter delivered him certain things of our holy catholic faith; to all which he answered, they understood him well, and would become Christians, and that with a very good will they should advance the cross, in what part or place of the the town it pleased them, for he was for the governor Antonio de Berreo, who was his master. Thereupon the said master of the camp took a great cross, and set it on end toward the east, and requested the whole camp to witness it. And Domingo de Vera firmed it thus:

*It is well and firmly done.* And underneath, *before me,* Rodrigo Cranca, *register of the army.*

'The 1st of May they prosecuted the said possession and discovery to the town of Carapana. From thence the said master of the camp passed to the town of Toroco, whose principal is called Topiawari, being five leagues farther within the land than the first nation, and well inhabited. And to this principal, by means of the interpreter, they gave to understand, that his Majesty and the said corrigidor commanded them to take the possession of that land; and that they should yield their obedience to his Majesty, and to his corrigidor, and to the master of the camp in his name; and that in token thereof

he would place a cross in the middle of his town. Whereunto the said cassique answered, they should advance it with a very good will, and that he remained in the obedience of our lord the king, and of the said governor Antonio de Berreo, whose vassal he would be.

The 4th of May we came to a province above five leagues thence, of all sides inhabited with much people. The principal of this people came and met us in peaceable manner; and he is called Revato. He brought us to a very large house, where he entertained us well, and gave us much gold; and the interpreter asking him from whence that gold was, he answered, from a province not passing a day's journey off, where there are so many Indians as would shadow the sun, and so much gold as all yonder plain will not contain it. In which country (when they enter into the borracheras, or their drunken feasts) they take of the said gold in dust, and anoint themselves all over therewith, to make the braver shew; and to the end the gold may cover them, they anoint their bodies with stamped herbs of a gluey substance. And they have war with those Indians. They promised us that if we would go unto them, they would aid us; but they were such infinite numbers, as no doubt they would kill us. And being asked how they got the same gold, they told us they went to a certain down or plain, and pulled and digged up the grass by the root; which done, they took of the earth, putting it in great buckets, which they carried to wash at the river, and that which came in powder they kept for their borracheras or drunken feasts, and that which was in pieces they wrought into eagles.

The 8th of May we went from thence, and marched about five leagues. At the foot of a hill we found a principal called Arataco, with 3000 Indians, men and women, all in peace, and with much victual, as hens and venison in great abundance, and many sorts of wine. He intreated us to go to his house, and to rest that night in his town, being of 500 houses. The interpreter asked whence he had those hens. He said they

were brought from a mountain not passing a quarter of a league thence, where were many Indians, yea, so many as grass on the ground, and that their men have the points of their shoulders higher than the crowns of their heads, and had so many hens as was wonderful; and if we would have any, we should send them jew's-harps, for they would give for every one two hens. We took an Indian and gave him 500 harps; the hens were so many that he brought us, as were not to be numbered. We said we would go thither, they told us they were now in their borracheras, or drunken feasts, and would kill us. We asked the Indian that brought the hens if it were true, he said it was most true. We asked him how they made their borracheras, or drunken feasts. He said, they had many eagles of gold hanging on their breasts, and pearls in their ears, and that they danced, being all covered with gold. The Indian said unto us, if we would see them we should give him some hatchets, and he would bring us of those eagles. The master of the camp gave him one hatchet, (he would give him no more, because they should not understand we went to seek gold) he brought us an eagle that weighed 27 pounds of good gold. The master of the camp took it and shewed it to the soldiers, and then threw it from him, making shew not to regard it. About midnight came an Indian, and said unto him, *give me a hatchet and I will tell thee what the Indians with the high shoulders mean to do.* The interpreter told the master of the camp, who commanded one to be given him. He then told us, those Indians were coming to kill us for our merchandize. Hereupon the master of the camp caused the company to be set in order, and began to march. The 11th day of May, we went about seven leagues from thence to a province, where we found a great company of Indians apparelled. They told us, that if we came to fight they would fill up those plains with Indians to fight with us; but if we came in peace, we should enter and be well entertained of them, because they had a great desire to see christians. And there they told us of all

the riches that were. I do not here set it down, because there is no place for it, but it shall appear by the information that goeth to his Majesty; for if it should here be set down, four leaves of paper would not contain it.'

*The letter of George Burien Britton, from the said Canaries unto his cousin, a Frenchman, dwelling in St. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.*

Sir, and my very good Cousin,

'There came of late certain letters from a new discovered country not far from Trinidad, which they write hath gold in great abundance; the news seemeth to be very certain, because it passeth for good among the best of this city. Part of the information of the discovery that went to his Majesty, goeth inclosed in Alonso's letters; it is a thing worth the seeing.'

*The Report of Domingo Martinez of Jamaica, concerning El Dorado.*

'He saith, that in 1593, being at Carthagena, there was a general report of a late discovery called Nuevo Dorado, and that a little before his coming thither, there came a frigate from the said Dorado, bringing in it the portraiture of a giant, all of gold, of weight 47 quintals, which the Indians there held for their idol. But now admitting of christianity, and obedience to the king of Spain, they sent their said idol unto him, in token they were become christians, and held him for their king. The company coming in the said frigate, reported gold to be there in most abundance, diamonds of inestimable value, with great store of pearl.'

*The Report of a Frenchman, called Bountillier of Sherbrooke, concerning Trinidad and Dorado.*

'He saith, that being at Trinidad in 1591, he had of Indian there a piece of gold, of a quarter of a pound, in exchange of a knife. The said Indian told him, he had it at the head of that river which cometh to Paracoa in Trinidad; and that within the river of Oronoko, it was in great abundance. Also in 1593, being taken by the Spaniards, and brought prisoner into the island of Madeira (the place for his prison) there came in this meantime a bark of 40 guns from a new discovery, with two millions of gold; the company whereof reported gold in that place to be in great abundance, and called it El Nuevo Dorado. This Frenchman passed from Spain in the bark, and having a cabin near a gentleman, one of the discoverers that came from that place in the said bark, had divers times conference with him, and, among other things, of the great abundance of gold in the said Dorado, being, as they said, within the river of Oronoko.'

*Reports of certain Merchants of Rio de Hacha, concerning El Nuevo Dorado.*

'They said (advancing the king's great treasure in the Indies) that Nuevo Reyno yielded very many gold mines, and wonderful rich; but lately was discovered a certain province so rich in gold, as the report thereof may seem incredible, it is there in such abundance, and is called El Nuevo Dorado. Antonio de Berreo made the said discovery.'

*The Report of a Spaniard, captain with Berreo in the discovery of El Nuevo Dorado.*

'That the information sent to the king was in every point truly said, that the river Oronoko hath seven mouths, or out-

lets, into the sea, called Las Siete Bocas de Dragon; that the said river runneth far into the land, in many places very broad, and that Antonio de Berreo lay at Trinidad, making head to go and conquer and people the said Dorado.'

## N°. X.

A RELATION OF THE SECOND VOYAGE TO GUIANA, PERFORMED AND WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1596, BY LAURENCE KEYMIS, GENT.

[See HAKLUYT's Voyages, III, 666.]

*To the approved, right-valorous, and worthy knight, Sir Walter Ralegh, Lord-warden of the Stannaries, Captain of her Majesty's guard, and her Highness' Lieutenant-general of the county of Cornwall.*

'I HAVE here briefly set down the effect of this your second discovery, without any enlargement of made words; for in this argument single speech best beseemeth a simple truth. Where the affinity of the matter with your person leadeth one to write of yourself unto yourself, that small liberty which I have therein used, shall, I doubt not, without offence or sinister construction, be given to the cause in hand. Which, whether it suffer not detriment, by attributing less than of right belongeth, the judgment be theirs that uprightly and indifferently shall weigh the consequence of their evil purpose, who, in seeking to detract from the author of these discoveries, do, so much as in them lieth, wound, deface, and tread under foot the thing itself. But this is no novelty, nor proper only to these our days.

For long since it hath been said *laudes eo usque sunt tolerabiles, donec ea dicuntur quæ auditores se quoque facere posse existimant; si majora proferantur invident non credunt.* The fervent zeal and loyalty of your mind in labour with this birth of so honourable expectation, as it hath deserved a recompence far different, so needeth it not my poor suffrage to endear the toil, care, and danger, that you have willingly undergone for the good and advancement of our weal-public. The praise-worthiness thereof doth approve itself, and is better read in your living doings than in my dead unregarded papers. All that I can wish is, that my life were a sufficient pledge, to justify how much more easy and more material the course for Guiana would be, than others which, requiring greater charge, yield not so large benefit, and are subject to more doubtful events. If, unto their wisdoms who sit in place and authority, it shall appear otherwise, and that in following of other attempts there is less difficulty, certainer profit, and needfuller offence unto the enemy, the cost and travail which you have bestowed shall not, I hope, be altogether lost, if unto your honour I can prove how and where the amends are to be had, maugre the force and prevention of all Spaniards.

Your Lordship's to be commanded in all service,

LAWRENCE KEYMIS.'

*To the Favourers of the Voyage for Guiana.*

'In things earnestly desired, though never so likely, we are still suspicious; thinking it more credit to our common wisdom, to discredit most noble and profitable endeavours with distrust, than touch to our valours and safeties to lie wilfully idle. So that howsoever an action well and judiciously attempted, be esteemed half performed; yet is this my jealous conceit concerning Guiana, that nothing is began before all be ended. In this regard (gentle reader) I have presumed to burthen thine ears with the weak plea of a good cause, and in-

stead of opening it thoroughly to thy prudent consideration, to note only mine own unsatisfied affection; hoping, that because I do name Guiana unto thee, thou wilt vouchsafe *hoc nomine*, to veil and cover all other my defects in the desert of a good meaning. In publishing this treatise, my labour principally tendeth to this end; to remove all fig-leaves from our unbelief, that either it may have cause to shake off the colourable pretences of ignorance, or if we will not be persuaded, that our self-will may rest inexcusable. They that shall apply, and construe this my doing to serve the Spaniard's turn so well as our own; insomuch as it may seem to instruct, warn, and arm him; for their satisfaction herein, they must not be ignorant, that his eyes, in seeing our shipping there, do as effectually inform him, that many of our hearts are toward that place, as if it should be credibly advertised by some corrupt hireling, that we think, write, and discourse of nothing else. Neither can I imagine, that, to conceal our knowledge herein (which to conceal may perhaps prove, and be hereafter taken for worse than parricide) would be of better purpose than to hoodwink ourselves, as who would say, no man shall see us. Beside, if the action were wholly to be effected at her Majesty's charge, then might it, at her highness' pleasure, be shadowed with some other drift, and never be discovered until it were acted. But since it craveth the approbation and purses of many adventurers, who cannot be so prodigal both of their possessions and lives, as voluntarily to run themselves out of breath, in pursuing they know not what; great reason it is, that where assistance is to be asked, due causes be yielded to persuade and induce them unto it. The Spaniard is not so simple, unsettled, and uncertain, in his determinations, as to build them on our breath; or to make our papers his bulwarks; nor so slow, as to expect a precedent of our forwardness. His proceedings are sufficiently strengthened with the travels, reports, and substantial proofs of his own men, that have above sixty years beaten round about this bush. And, to say a truth, the expedition

that he hath used in sending so many ships in February last to people this country, and disappoint us, as it doth consequently shew, that he findeth his chiefest force and sinews to consist in gold, so doth he thereby, plainly to our faces, exprobate our remissness and long deliberations, that in twelve months space have done, or sought to do nothing worthy the ancient fame and reputation of our English nation, interested in so weighty business. His late provision of a new supply of whole families, to the number of 600 persons, bound for Guiana, but that it pleased God, that by means of that right honourable service, most resolutely performed in the sea-fight and sacking of Cadiz, the ships wherein they should have been conveyed were converted into ashes, what might it signify? Certes, as it doth evidently prove, that El Dorado hath undoubted credit and account in their judgments, so pointeth it at us, while we only, to entertain idle time, sit listening for Guiana news, and instantly forget it, as if it were nought else but a pleasing dream of a golden fancy.

'If we with ourselves shall expostulate how this cometh to pass, that the advantage wholly resting on our side, in respect that Berreo was this last year beaten out, the country thoroughly discovered, and the inhabitants made desirous of her sacred Majesty's happy government; they notwithstanding by entering before us, have now gotten the start of us; what may we think? Shall we judge that their native country is less dear, or more wearisome unto them, than ours is unto us? Their Peruleri, who going bare and empty out of Spain, do again within three or four years return from Peru, rich and in good estate, do apparently disprove all such conceits of them. Shall we say that they have more spare men to be employed in such actions? It is no secret to know the contrary. Are they subject to penury? In all parts of Christendom, where money is not scant, all other things are plentiful. Or is their land not able to sustain their numbers of people? They buy many slaves to follow their husbandry, and them-

selves disdaining base idleness and beggary, do all honour military profession, highly esteeming it in their mercenaries and strangers. Is it then want of ability in those that are willing, lack of encouragement, or default of speedy order and direction for those that do voluntarily offer themselves, their substance, and best endeavour to further this cause, that maketh us to be thus cooped of the Spaniard? The first is no question; the latter needeth no answer. The profit then by their example to be gathered, is not to lose opportunity by delay, or to seem fearful and dismayed, where there is no cause of doubt. For as yet their post-haste doth noway prejudice our advised leisure in setting forward, since their preparations of negroes to work in the mines, their horses, cattle, and other necessaries may (by the favour of God) at our first coming, both store us with quantities of gold ore, and ease us of much trouble, pains, and travel. If we should suppose ourselves now to live in the days of King Henry VII, of famous memory, and the strange report of a West Indies, or new world abounding with great treasure should entice us to believe it; perhaps it might be imputed for some blame to the gravity of wise men, lightly to be carried with the persuasion and hope of a new found Utopia, by such a one as Columbus was, being an alien, and many ways subject to suspicion. But since the penance of that incredulity lieth even now heavy on our shoulders, the example forethreatening I know not what repentance, and that we have the personal trial of so honourable and sufficient a reporter, our own countryman; let it be far from us to condemn ourselves in that, which so worthily we reprove in our predecessors, and to let our idle knowledge content itself with naked contemplation, like a barren womb in a monastery. We cannot deny that the chief commendation of virtue doth consist in action; we truly say, that *otium* is *anima vivæ sepultura*; we believe, that perfect wisdom in this mobility of all human affairs, refuseth not with any price to purchase safety; and we justly

do acknowledge, that the Castilians from bare-legged mountaineers have attained to their greatness by labour and industry. To sleep then, because it costeth nothing; to embrace the present time, because it flattereth us with deceitful contentment; and to kiss security, saying, *what evil happeneth unto us?* is the plain highway to a fearful downfal; from which the Lord in his mercy deliver us, and give us an understanding heart, in time to see and to seek that which belongeth unto our peace.'

## *The Second Voyage to Guiana.*

'Monday January 26th, in the year of our Lord 1596, we departed from Portland-road in the Darling of London, having in company the Discoverer, a small pinnace which we lost at sea in foul weather, the Thursday next following. Friday, February 13th, we fell with the Canary islands, where we expected our pinnace according to our appointment seven or eight days. Here we took two boats, the one a passenger we bulged, the other we towed at our ship's stern, steering S. S. W. for the islands of Cape Verde. Therehence we set sail February 28th, keeping a W. S. W. course. In this passage we found very smooth seas, fair weather, and steady winds, blowing ordinarily between the E. and N. E. points. Near thirty leagues from these islands we came into a grown sea, the swollen waters making a strange noise, and hurtling together as if it might be two strong currents encountering each other. March 12th we sounded, and had sandy ground in 47 fathom. At midnight in twelve fathom we came to an anchor, the ground sandy oaze. Sunday the 14th toward night, about some six leagues from the shore, we descried a low land in the bottom of a bay.' From March 9th until this time we kept for the most part a S. S. W. course. The water in this place is smooth but muddy, and the colour red or tawny.

'From the westermost of the Cape Verde islands unto this bay, I do estimate the distance to be near 550 leagues. It seemed to most of our seamen to be the very bank of a shoal upon a lee-shore; the rather because without it, in the clean green sea we had but seven fathom depth; but after, by proof, finding that there is no sudden alteration in any part of the coast, and that the sea is smoothest near the land, we alway at night sought to anchor in three or four fathom. And doubtless as the hand of God is wonderful in all his works, so herein his merciful providence is most admirable, that upon a lee-shore subject unto a perpetual easterly gale, neither much wind can endanger shipping, by reason that the foul heavy water is not capable of vehement motion, and the soft light oaze, if they touch, cannot bruise them. Nor is there any jeopardy in being wind-bound, or imbayed; for the most forcible winds make the greatest flood-tides, whereby the freshets when they take their ordinary course of ebb, do grow strong and swift, setting directly off to sea against the wind. We by turning went clear of all bays; howbeit, in this case, as also in the rivers, the use of a drove-sail seemeth a good and ready help.

'The first place wherein we anchored, was in the mouth of Arrowari, a fair and great river. It standeth in one degree and forty minutes; for we fell so far to the southward by your lordship's direction. The bar without, hath, at the least, three fathom, at the shoalest place, when it is low ebb. The depth within is eight and ten fathom. The water alway brackish. We found not any inhabitants in this place near the sea-coast. I omit here to recite the names of the nations that are borderers, their towns, captains, and commodities, that their countries do yield, as also the soundings, tides, and how the coast lieth, &c.; thinking it fittest to reduce these disjointed and scattered remembrances to one place. As we passed we alway kept the shore within view and stopped the floods, still anchoring at night in three or four fathom.

When we came to the north headland of this bay, (which we named Cape Cecil) we saw two high mountains like two islands, but they join with the main. In this tract, lying N. N. W. near sixty leagues, there fall into the sea these several great rivers: Arrowari, Iwaripoco, Maipari, Coanawini, Caipurogh. We anchored in two fathom, not far from these hills, and filled all our casks with fresh water by the ship side, for in the sea, thirty miles from the mouth of any river, it is fresh and good. This second bay extendeth itself above thirty leagues to the westward, and containeth within it these rivers, —Arcoea, Wiapoco, Wanari, Caparwacka, Cawo, Caian, Wia, Macuria, Cawroor, Curassawini. Here, leaving the ship at anchor, I took into the boat John Provost, my Indian interpreter, John Linsey, and eight or nine others, intending to search some of these rivers, and to seek speech with the Indians. In Wiapoco, at the foot of the eastermost mountain, where the river falleth into the sea, we found twenty or thirty houses, but not inhabited. We staid there but one night. Wanari we overpassed, because the entrance is rocky and not deep. In Caperwacka we sailed some forty miles, but could see no Indian. At one of their ports, under the side of a hill, we took in so much brazil wood as our boat could carry. Among other trees we cut down one for an example, which I do verily believe to be the same sort of cinnamon which is found in the straits of Magellan.

'From Caperwacka we passed to Cawo, and there met with a canoe, wherein were two Indians. It was long time before we could procure them to come near us, for they doubted lest we were Spanish. When my interpreter had persuaded them the contrary, and that we came from England, they, without farther speech or delay, brought us to Wareo their captain, who entertained us most friendly, and then at large declared unto us, that he was lately chased by the Spaniards from Moruga, one of the neighbour rivers to Raleana or Oronoko; and that having burnt his own houses,

and destroyed his fruits and gardens, he had left his country and towns to be possessed by the Arwaccas, who are a vagabond nation of Indians, which, finding no certain place of abode of their own, do for the most part serve and follow the Spaniards. He shewed me, that he was of the nation of the Iaos, who are a mighty people, and of a late time were lords of all the sea coast so far as Trinidad, which they likewise possessed. Howbeit, that with a general consent, when the Spaniards first began to borrow some of their wives, they all agreed to change their habitation, and do now live united, for the most part, toward the river of Amazons. But the especial cause of his present remove was, because two or three years past twenty Spaniards came to his town, and sought to take his best wife from him; but before they carried her away, he at time and place of advantage killed half of them; the rest fled, most of them sore hurt. Now, in this case he thought it best to dwell far enough from them. Your Indian pilot Ferdinando, who conducted you by Amana, and now abideth near the head of Dessekebe, is one of this man's subjects; by whom (as it may seem) he hath taken good notice of our princess and country. For he descended more particularly to inquire what forces were come with us, assuring me of the Spaniards being in Trinidad, and that the Indians our friends, betwixt hope and fear, have earnestly expected our return from England these four or five months.

'When I had answered him, that at our departure we left no Spaniards alive to annoy them; that we now came only to discover and trade with them; and that if her Majesty should have sent a power of men where no enemy was to resist, the Indians might perhaps imagine that we came rather to invade, than to defend them; he replied, that this course very well sorted with the report which they had heard of our princess' justice, rare graces, and virtues; the fame of whose power in being able to vanquish the Spaniards, and singular goodness in undertaking to succour and defend the afflicted Indians, was now so general that the nations far

and near were all agreed to join with us, and by all means possible to assist us in expelling and rooting out the Spaniards from all parts of the land; and that we were deceived if we thought this country not large enough to receive us, without molestation or intrusion upon the Indians, who wanted not choice of dwelling places, if they forsook one to live in another; but stood in need of our presence at all times to aid them, and maintain their liberty, which to them is dearer than land or living. He then farther desired, that he with his people might have our favour against the Arwaccas, who not being content to enjoy their grounds and houses, had taken from them many of their wives and children, the best of whose fortune was, if they lived, to live in perpetual slavery under the Spaniards. We put him in good hope and comfort thereof; and he, to deserve some part of this friendship, commended unto us an elderly man to be our pilot in bringing us to Raleana. When we were ready to depart, he demanded whether we wanted any vrapo, which is the wood that is usually carried from these parts to Trinidad in canoes, and is there sold to the French for trade. He offered, if we would bring our ship near his port, to put in her lading thereof. But because most of our casks were not iron-bound, and, in making stowage-way, to remove them would have been the loss of our cyder and other drink, I therefore referred the taking of any quantity to fitter opportunity, thinking it sufficient at this time to have only my boat's lading thereof; which afterward in extremity of foul weather, before we could get aboard our ship, we were enforced in a dark night to heave all overboard, thinking ourselves happy to have recovered thither at seven days' end, with safety of life only.

'All which time we could nowhere set foot on shore, but rested day and night, wet and weather-beaten, in our covertless boat, which was sometimes ready to sink under us. For we had in this place without comparison more rain, wind, and gusts, than elsewhere at any time. To be brief, my men, be-

came weak and sick, and if we had staid any longer time out, I doubt whether the greatest part of us had ever come aboard again. I afterward understood by my Indian pilot, that this weather is, for most part of the year, usual near the island Ouaiarie, which lieth north from the river Capurwacka some six leagues into the sea; and that they hold opinion how this island is kept by some evil spirit; for they verily believe, that to sleep in the day-time near it (except it be after much drink) is present death. The only season wherein little rain doth fall there is (as I gathered by their speech, they dividing all times by their moons) at our winter solstice. The mother-wind of this coast is for the most part to the northward of the east, except when the sun is on this side of the equinoctial, for then it often veers southerly, but most in the night. This our guide is of the Iaos, who do all mark themselves, thereby to be known from other nations, after this manner.—With the tooth of a small beast like a rat they rase some their faces, some their bodies, after divers forms, as if it were with the scratch of a pin, the print of which rasure can never be done away again during life. When he had sometime conversed with our Indians that went from England with us, he became willing to see our country. His sufficiency, trustiness, and knowledge, is such, that if the pretended voyage for Guiana do take place, you shall (I doubt not) find him many ways able to stead your lordship in your designs and purposes. For beside his precise knowledge of all the coast, and of the Indian towns and dwellings, he speaketh all their languages, was bred in Guiana, is a sworn brother to Putima, who slew the Spaniards in their return from Manoa, can direct us to many gold mines, and in nothing will undertake more than he assuredly will perform.

'To the westward, this bay hath many good roads under small islands, whereof the greatest, named Gowateri, is inhabited by the Shebaios; and beside the plenty of fowl, fish, fruits, wild porks and deer, which are there to be had, where

Caiane falls into the sea (for it standeth in the mouths of Wia and Caiane) it yields safe and good harbour in four and five fathom for ships of great burden. On all that coast we found not any like it; we therefore honoured this place by the name of Port Howard. The road under Triangle islands, which are the westermost from the rest, and stand in five degrees, which have also store of fish, fowl, deer, and iwanas, is good, but not comparable with this other, where in all winds and weather, ships, though they be many, may all ride securely. The hills and high lands are limits to this bay on each side; for to the eastward beyond it appear none at all, and to the westward of Mount Hobbeigh very few. Where the mountains fail, there brasil wood is no farther to be sought for; but in all parts cotton, pepper, silk, and balsamum trees do grow in abundance. The roots of the herb wiapassa are here most plentiful: I find them in taste nothing different from good ginger, and in operation very medicinable against the flux and head-ach. These rivers, as also others nearer Raleana, do all fall out of the plains of this empire over rocks, as the river Caroli doth into Raleana; and in most places within the utmost hedge of woods, the land within is plain, void of trees, and beareth short grass, like Arromaiarie's country.

'Next adjoining unto these are the rivers Cunanamma, Vracco, Mawari, Mawarparo, Amonna, Marawini, Oncowi, Wiawiami, Aramatappo, Camaiwini, Shurinama, Shurama, Cupanamma, Inana, Guritini, Winitwari, Berbice, Wapari, Maicaiwini, Mahawaica, Wappari, Lemdrare, Dessekebe, Caopui, Pawrooma, Morugs, Waim, Barima, Amacur, Aratoori, Raleana. From Cape Cecil to Raleana the coast trendeth 200 leagues next hand west-north-west. In this variety of goodly rivers, Amana among the rest poureth himself into the sea in a large and deep channel. His swiftness buffereth no bar, nor refuseth any shipping of what burden soever they be. With-

in his mouth, for good and hopeful respects, is Port Burlegh placed.

'The inhabitants that dwell eastward do never pass lower than Berbice to trade, Above Curitini in the woods they gather great quantities of honey. Farther to the eastward than Dessekebe no Spaniard ever travelled. In which respect, and that no sea-card that I have seen at any time, doth in any sort near a truth describe this coast, I thought the liberty of imposing English names to certain places of note of right to belong unto our labours; the rather because occasion thereby offereth itself gratefully to acknowledge the honour due nnto them that have been, and I hope will still continue favorers of this enterprise. The Indians, to shew the worthiness of Dessekebe (for it is very large, and full of islands in the mouth) do call it the brother of Oronoko. It lieth southerly into the land, and from the mouth of it into the head they pass in twenty days; then taking their provision they carry it on their shoulders one day's journey; afterward they return for their canoes, and bear them likewise to the side of a lake, which the Iaos call Roponowini, the Charibes, Parime; which is of such bigness that they know no difference between it and the main sea. There be infinite numbers of canoes in this lake, and (as I suppose) it is no other than than that whereon Manoa standeth. In this river, which we now call Devoritia, the Spaniards do intend to build them a town. In Moruga it was that they hunted Wareo and his people, about half a year since. Arromaiarie, who won so great credit by overthrowing the Tivitivas of Amana, and making free the passage of that river, (but now again liveth in disgrace, by reason that the Charibes of Guanipa have killed most of his followers, and burnt his towns), was present with them, and took away many of the women of that place. Arracurri, another Indian of the nation of the Arwaccas inhabiting in Barima, was likewise present, and conducted the Spaniards to all the Indian dwellings. They were not of

Anthonie de Berreo's company, that followed this chase, but were the Spaniards of Margarita and the Caraccas, with whom Santiago, forsaking his governor Berreo, joined himself. For which fact, he now lieth in fetters at Trinidad, every day expecting sentence of death. The occasion hereof grew as followeth.—

'When Barreo, having lost his men, was left with Fasshardo at Cumana all alone as forlorn, and never likely to compass his intended conquest of Guiana, the governors of Caraccas and Margarita consulting together, sent with all speed into Spain, to advertise their king, that Berreo was utterly unable to follow this enterprise, that he had given it over, and did now sojourn in his old days at Fasshardo's house, minding nothing else but his solace and recreation. They farther declared, of how great importance this matter was; and that an English gentleman of such reckoning as they named your Lordship to be, having been in Guiana, and understanding so much of the state thereof, and the nations thereunto adjoining, as Topiawarie, being both old and wise, could inform you of, who also in confirmation of friendship had given you his only son, to whom the inheritance of the country did belong after him; there was no other likelihood, but that you who adventured so far, and in such sort as you did, only to see and know a certainty, would leave nothing unattempted to possess so rich a country, and without all doubt would return presently. That meantime you had left this aged sire alive to be a block in their way, to whom after his decease this enterprise by patent did belong, and to be a weak adversary against yourself, whom at all times you knew easily how to distress; and that therefore it might be behoveful for his Majesty to revoke Berreo's grant, and to use their service, who were ready and willing without any delay to undertake the charge. These news being at large amplified, and delivered to the king, Domingo de Vera, Berreo's camp-master, who was sent into Spain five months be-

fore your arrival at Trinidad, with a sufficient quantity of gold gotten out of Guiana to levy and furnish 500 men, having gotten knowledge of this practice, so solicited this cause in Berreo's behalf, that present order was given for the victualling and manning of ten ships to be sent to Berreo. And farther, this gold bore such weight, that the king commanded other eighteen of his ships to stop at Trinidad, and not to follow their other directions, before they saw that place secured from enemies.

'Berreo, supposing that these governors, in sending with such speed into Spain, meant him no good, to approve his care and constancy, and that he never would yield under the burthen of his adverse fortune; giving no time or breath to his adversaries nor himself, returned forthwith to Carapana's port only with fifteen men, being the scattered remnant of those whom you lately dispossessed of Trinidad. These governors followed him, and assuring themselves of present employment from their king, pre-occupating the time of their directions to be returned from Spain, entered Guiana with their men, with full determination to murder Berreo, and to dispatch all his company. They indeed killed two or three, but Berreo fled toward Caroli, where he stayed, hoping for succour from his son Antonie de Ximenes, to come down the river from Nuevo Reyno de Granada. The Margaritanes, with their accomplices, busied themselves, some in searching the country, others in purveying victuals out of the rivers that do lie eastward, of which number these were that entered into Moruga with twenty canoes. Santiago passed up into Topiawarie's country, and there took Francis Sparrow, Sir George Gifford's man, prisoner, who, with plenty of gold, ransomed his life, and is now abiding in Cumana. This done, they all returned to Trinidad, and began to build their town there, when, unhappily, to their small comfort, the eight-and-twenty sail arrived, and took Santiago prisoner. The other actors in this interlude vanished, and in canoes recovered Margarita and Cumana again. Eighteen

of the said ships, leaving all things in good order, departed from Trinidad to follow their other directions; ten do yet remain fortifying at Conquerabia, and expecting our coming. This particular relation I had from an Indian, servant to Berreo, that could speak Spanish, whom I took in the river. He is of the nation of the Iaos, and from a child bred up with Berreo. I gave him trade to buy him a canoe to return into his country, and so left him, glad that he had met with us.

'Now the Indians of Moruga, being chased from their dwellings, do seek by all means possible to accord all the nations in one, so to invade the Arwaccas, who were guides to the Spaniards, in shewing their towns and betraying them. For they are fully persuaded, that by driving these Arwaccas, who serve the Spaniards (for a great part of this nation doth also hate, or not know them) out of their territories and Trinidad, the Spaniards, for want of bread, will be enforced to seek habitation farther off, or at the least in time consume and be wasted.

'April 6th, we came to an anchor within the mouth of the river Raleana, having spent 23 days in discovery upon this coast. The channel of this river hath six or seven fathom depth, nine or ten miles off at sea, the bar lieth farther out, and at low water hath not full two fathom. It highs not above five feet, except at a spring-tide. We anchored in en fathom the firfl night; the next morning twelve canoes came unto us, furnished and provided of victuals after their manner for the wars. Their captains' names were Anwara and Aparwa. These cassiques, when the Spaniards made the last inroad in those parts, were in the inland among the Iwarewakeri, their neighbours, by which occasion, having lost some of their wives (for, notwithstanding their profession of christianity, some of these Spaniards keep ten or twelve women, thinking themselves well and surely blessed, howsoever they live, if their town and houses be religiously crossed) they kept together thirty canoes, hoping at our coming, which they had long expected, to recover this loss upon them and the Arwaccas, who, in their

absence, had done this wrong. They shewed me this their purpose, and required to be joined in league of friendship with us against our enemies. When of them I had learned so much of the present estate of the country as they did know, they demanded whether we had brought no more forces with us but only one ship? I answered them as before I did the others, that we now came only to trade, not knowing until this present that any Spaniards were in Guiana; that upon our return our whole fleet will hasten to set forward, and that, in the meantime, we would now visit our friends, and help them so far as we could in any thing that we should find needful presently to be done. After long discourse (for their chief man stayed with me all night) when he had caused me to spit in my right hand, with many other ceremonies which they use in confirming friendship, he went to the shore, and one of his canoes he sent to bring forward the other twenty; one other he caused to go up the river before us to bring intelligence. Then calling together the chief of his company, they made small fires, and, sitting in their hamacas, or Indian beds, each one sorted himself with his companion, recounting among themselves the worthiest deeds, and deaths of their ancestors, execrating their enemies most despitefully, and magnifying their friends with all titles of praises and honour that may be devised. Thus they sit talking and taking tobacco some two hours, and until their pipes be all spent (for by them they measure the time of this their solemn conference) no man must interrupt or disturb them in any sort; for this is their religion, and prayers, which they now celebrated, keeping a precise fast one whole day, in honour of the great princess of the North, their patroness and defender. Their canoes being made ready, they accompanied us, and in their way shewed us where the shoals of the river do lie.

'By this captain I learned that Muchikeri is the name of the country where Macuereguarai, the first town of the empire of Guiana that lieth toward Raleana, is seated in a fair and exceeding large plain, below the high mountains, that bear north-

westerly from it; that it is but three days journey distant from Carapana's port, and that Manoa is but six days farther. That they themselves do pass in three days into the country of the Iwarewakeri by the river Amacur, which, though it be not the directest, yet it is the readiest way to Macureguarai, for that which leadeth to Carapana's dwelling, is in some places difficult and mountainous. That a nation of clothed people, called Cassanari, do dwell not far from the place where the river doth first take the name of Oronoko, and that far with in, they border upon a sea of salt water, named Parime. That a great river, called Macurwini, passeth through their country into Oronoko. That Manoa standeth twenty days journey from the mouth of Wiapoco, sixteen days from Barima, thirteen days from Amacur, and ten days from Aratoori. That the best way unto it is not by Macureguarai. That of all others the Charibes that dwell high up in Oronoko, know most of the inland, and of those nations, and they speak no other language, than such as John your interpreter doth well understand. He certified me of the headless men, and that their mouths in their breasts are exceeding wide. The name of their nation in the Charibes' language is Chiparemai, and the Guianians call them Ewiapanomos. What I have heard of a sort of people more monstrous, I omit to mention, because it is no matter of difficulty to get one of them, and the report otherwise will appear fabulous. Lastly, he told me of an inland river, named Cawrooma, adjoining to Aratoori, and that the Quepyn mountains, where Carapana dwelleth, are hardly accessible. That the Amapagotos have images of gold of incredible bigness, and great store of unmanned horses, of the Caraccas' breed; and they dwell five days journey up the river about Caroli. We, with our fleet of canoes, were now not far from Carapana's port, when our intelligencer returned, and informed us, that ten Spaniards were lately gone with much trade to Barima, where these Indians dwelt, to buy cassavi-bread; and that within one day two other canoes of Spaniards

were appointed to come by the river Amana to Carapana's port.

Upon this occasion they took counsel, and in the end, desired to return to their houses, lest the Spaniards finding them from home, and imagining that they did purposely absent themselves, should take away their wives and spoil their dwellings. They farther resolved, if it were possible, to cut them off, which afterward they did perform. For when they were dispersed in their houses seeking cassavi, suddenly at one time, in all places they were assaulted, and not one of them escaped. Carapana, whose hand was in laying this plot, sent us this news as we returned down the river. The two other canoes that came from Trinidad, by Amana, notwithstanding that we kept a league before the ship with our boats, saw the ship before we had sight of them, and presently with all speed went to Berreo to advertise him of our coming. He forthwith dispatched two or three messengers to Trinidad. One of his canoes met with our spy, whom the Indians of Barima had left to go with us; they rifled him of his victuals, gave him knives, and dismissed him.

In eight days sailing still before a wind, we arrived at Topiawarie's port, in all which time no Indian that we knew came aboard us. For the time of our return promised at your lordship's departure from thence being expired, they in despair severed themselves among the other nations. Here the Spaniards have seated their rancheria of some twenty or thirty houses. The high rocky island, that lieth in the midst of the river, against the mouth of Caroli, is their fort or refuge, when they misdoubt safety in their town, or having notice of any practice against them; but now leaving both town and island, they joined themselves altogether, and retiring to the mouth of the river Caroli, placed there a secret ambush, to defend the passage to those mines, from whence your ore and white stones were taken the last year. We all, not without grief to see ourselves thus defeated, and our hungry hopes made void, were

witnesses of this their remove. As we rode at anchor within musket-shot of their town, an Indian came unto us, with lean cheeks, thin hair, and a squint eye, to inform us that they were very strong, that Berreo's son was with him, that they had but two small pinnaces at Trinidad, which they daily looked for to come up the river; and lastly to view our ship well, and our provision, but especially to learn whether Gualtero, Topiawarie's son, were with us.

This informer's very countenance gave him to be suspected, and therefore partly by threatening, partly by promise of reward, we won him to confess the truth; which he did, assuring us that Berreo had not full fifty-five men with him, whereof twenty came lately from Trinidad, twenty from Nuevo Reyno, and the rest he brought with him about six months since, when he fled from Carapana's port, and was driven with his small company to keep the aforesaid island near Caroli. And that though now his number is thus increased, yet dareth he not adventure at any time to leave the fast woods, and to go but half a league from his hold into the plains. That some few of the Arwaccas are abiding with him. That he daily looketh for his son from Nuevo Reyno, for his camp-master from Trinidad, and for horses from the Caraccas. That Topiawarie is dead; the Indians of that coast all fled and dispersed, excepting the son of one Curmatoi, and another woman of account, whom the Spaniards hold prisoners for consenting to the death of their nine men, and the holy friar in Morekito's time. This Curmatoi is fled toward Guanipa, and is a man of special note among the Indians. That Iwiakanarie, Gualtero's near kinsman, hath held the country to his use by his father's appointment, ever since your being in the river. That there are ten ships and many Spaniards at Trinidad. That the Indians our friends did fear least you with your company were all slain, and your ships sunk at Cumana, (for so the Spaniards noised it among them), that some of Gualtero's friends with Putyma, were in the mountains not far from the hill of Aio. And

that Berreo had sent for six pieces of ordnance, which he meant to plant where they might best command the river.

When we had stayed here two days, considering that where no hope was left of doing good, to abide there in harm's way doing nothing would be bootless, I resolved to seek Putyma in the mountains, and turning down the river with the force of the stream some twenty miles in six hours, the next morning with ten shot I went ashore, intending if the Indians should think themselves too weak with our help to displant the Spaniards, to set some of them on work for hatchets and knives, to return us gold grains and white stones from such places as they should be directed unto. When we came to the place of their usual abode, we saw that they lately had been there, but could speak with none of them. It may be that fear (which is easy of belief) persuaded them that we were Spaniards. Gilbert, my pilot, here offered to bring us either to the mine of white stones, near Winicapora, or else to a gold-mine, which Putyma had shewed him, being but one day's journey overland from the place where we now stayed at an anchor. I saw, afar off, the mountain adjoining to this gold-mine, and having measured their paths near the same place this last year, could not judge it to be fifteen miles from us. I do well remember, how coming that way with Putyma the year before, he pointed to this same mountain, making signs to have me go with him thither. I understood his signs, and marked the place, but mistook his meaning, imagining that he would have shewed me the overfal of the river Curwara from the mountains. My Indian shewed me in what sort, without digging, thay gather the gold in the sand of a small river, named Macawini, that springeth and falleth from the rocks where this mine is. And farther told me, that he was with Putyma, at what time Morekito was to be executed by the Spaniards, and that then the chief of Morekito's friends were in consultation, to shew this mine unto them if so they might redeem their captain's life. But upon better advice, supposing them in

this case to be implacable, and that this might prove a means to lose not only their king, but their country also, they have to this day concealed it from them, being of all others the richest and most plentiful. The aged sort to keep this from common knowledge, have devised a fable of a dangerous dragon that haunteth this place, and devoureth all that come near it. But our Indian, if when we return, we do bring store of strong wine (which they love beyond measure) with it will undertake so to charm this dragon, that he shall do us no harm.

I, that for this end came from home, and in this journey had taken much more pains to less purpose, would very gladly from this mountain have taken so good a proof to witness my being in the country; but withal, considering that not one Indian of our known friends came unto us; that Don Juan, the cousin of Gualtero, who liveth here, a revolt from the Spaniard, was now in election to be chief commander of all the Indian forces in these parts, cannot in policy, for Gualtero's sake, whose inheritance he sought to usurp, be a fast friend unto us; that the Spaniards abiding in Winicapora, (for there were ten) might well, before we could do anything and return, cause some others of Berreo's men to join with them in the way to intercept us; and forethinking withal, that there being no means, but ourselves, to make known our discovery, if we returned not, in our misfortune the hope of following this voyage would be buried. But beside all this, and the respect of such spials as the Spaniards kept to observe our doings, foreknowing that if the enemy should, by our lingering, stop our passage, which, in one or two places of advantage, few of them might easily do, it would be a question how with our ship to get out of the river, except first we could remove them, I thought it best (all other possibilities set apart) to seek in time to be free from the hazard of the aforesaid evil passages.

While we were searching at the shore for the Indians, my

barge took a canoe, with three men in her, the one a servant to Berreo, (as before is mentioned) the other two merchants of cassavi. They had a letter sent from the governor to be conveyed to Trinidad, which I received. There was also a great hatchet and twenty knives, wherewith this Indian servant should buy a canoe, and hire Indians to carry her up the river toward Nuevo Reyno. This canoe forsboth, with four other were to be sent to bring down Berreo's son with all his forces, which now have been, I think, full three years in preparing. If five such boats be sufficient to convey him, his men, and all their provision, it may seem he cometh with no great strength.

This servant, as he was a man of especial trust, and near Berreo, so appeared he to have some insight in his proceedings. He shewed me that the Indians, who with these knives should be hired, were to pass up so high, as where some of the Cassanari do dwell in small villages. That Berreo's purpose was, when they came thither to leave them there, and make them officers over the other Indians; and in their places some of the Cassanari should return, who likewise should be made justices and constables over them of Guiana. That from Trinidad he meant to remove most of the old inhabitants that would be tractable, and interpose them among the Cassanarians of Guiana, and the Guianians of the Cassanari. That the Arwaccas should wholly possess Trinidad, and the river side of Raleana. That they already were provided of threescore negroes to work the mines in these places. And that by this means Berreo hoped to keep these several nations in mutual enmity each against other, all to serve his turn, and never to become strong, or likely to join themselves against him. He farther shewed me, that Topiawari, soon after our departure from the river, fled into the mountains, carrying Hugh Godwyn with him, and leaving a substitute in his country, as aforesaid; and that the next news they heard of him was, that he was dead, and the English boy eaten by a tiger. That

the Spaniards believe neither the one nor the other. That about the end of June, when the river shall be impassable, the ten ships shall depart from Trinidad. And that Berreo ever since his coming to Guiana, hath spent his time altogether in purveying of victuals, whereof there is such scarcity, by reason that the Indians forsaking their houses have not this half year planted any of their grounds, so that the Spaniards are enforced to seek their bread far off, and content themselves to live with little.

In sailing up the river we passed by Toparimacko's port, which in one place is very shoaly, the channel lying close aboard the shore. We returned therefore another way by the main river on the south side; this branch we found large, deep, and without danger. When we were come near Carapana's port, he sent five or six several canoes, promising this day and the next, that he would come and speak with us. Thus we lingered six or seven days, but he came not. In the end he sent one of his aged followers to certify us, that he was sick, old, and weak; that the ways near his dwelling are not easy; and that therefore he desired us to hold him excused for not coming. This old man dilated unto us, that Carapana, in hope of our return, hath ever since your lordship's being in that country kept the mountains, where the Spaniards can hardly any way enforce him; that they have taken from him and his people many of their wives, because they refused to furnish them weekly with a certain proportion of bread and victuals; that Don Juan, otherwise called Eparacano, hath the commandment of all his subjects, excepting only a choice guard of men sufficient to keep the place he now dwelleth in; that it repenteth him of his ambition, ever to have sought by the Spaniards' means to have enlarged his countries and people. For true it is, that from the beginning he was a lord of no other than ordinary power among them, until he had entered into friendship with Berreo; for then the Indians on all sides left some their habitations, and many their commanders to be

come his subjects, that they might have the privilege to trade with the Spaniards for hatchets and knives, which are jewels of great price among them; that he now saw no other choice but that the Indians must, if they will do well, without farther dissembling of their necessity, either entertain us their friends, or else give place to the Spaniards their enemies. For the plenty of gold that is in this country being now known and discovered, there is no possibility for them to keep it; on the one side they could feel no greater misery, nor fear more extremity, than they were sure to find if the Spaniards prevailed, who perforce do take all things from them, using them as their slaves to run, to row, to be their guides, to carry their burthens, and that which is worst of all, to be content for safety of their lives, to leave their women if a Spaniard chance but to set his eye on any of them to fancy her; on the other side they could hope for, nor desire no better state and usage than her Majesty's gracious government and princely virtues do promise and assure unto them.

For, said he, the other year, when we fled into the mountains, and measured your doings by the Spaniards' in like case, we made no other account, but that your commander being able, as he was, would doubtless have persecuted us to the uttermost, as the only maintainers and supporters of your enemies, and would at the least, if he could not reach us, take our towns, and make us ransom our wives and children. We found it far otherwise, and that none of your well-governed company durst offer any of us wrong or violence, no, not by stealth, when unknown they might have done it. We then believing it to be true, what your grand captain reported of his princess, took this for a good proof of her royal commandment and wisdom, that had framed her subjects to such obedience, and of your happiness, that enjoyed the benefit thereof. That Carapana, weighing the good and friendly course of our proceedings, doth humbly crave of her Majesty for himself and his people, that with the rest of the Indians, who

wholly depend on her princely regard toward them, he also may enjoy her favourable protection; and he doth this, not as a man left unto himself and forsaken by the Spaniards, but as one that knoweth their injustice, hateth their cruelties, and taketh it for his best choice utterly to disclaim their friendship. It may be pertinent (as surely it is a thing worth the noting) to consider how this precedent of your moderation and good order, which to us seemeth a matter but of small and ordinary respect, hath both alienated their hearts altogether from the Spaniard, and stirred up in them true love and admiration thereof. For as government is the only bond of common society, so to men lawless, that each one to another are, *omnes hoc jure molesti, quo fortes*; to men, I say, that live in daily tumults, fears, doubts, suspicions, barbarous cruelties, never sleeping secure, but alway either drunk or practising one another's death; to such men as these be, who, wanting discipline, justice, and good order, to confirm them in a quiet and peaceable course of living, knowing not where to find it; the sense and sweetness thereof is as the dew of Hermon; it is as the harmony of a well tuned instrument; to be brief, it carrieth in itself not only a due and worthy commendation, but is available without stroke striking to gain a kingdom. For the Indians in all parts within and near Guiana do offer their service, and promise to provide victual, and what else their country yieldeth, desiring only that some force of men may remain with them, to deliver them from oppression and tyranny. And now by general consent (though hatchets and knives be the only things of request, and useful unto them) they have agreed by no means to trade with the Spaniard for any thing. Farther this old man shewed me, whence most of their gold cometh which is formed into so many fashions; whence their spleen-stones, and others of all sorts are to be had in plenty; where gold is to be gathered in the sands of their rivers; from what parts the Spaniards both by trade and otherwise, have returned much gold. This he uttered with Carapana's con-

sent, (I doubt not) hoping thereby to induce us to return again. For, contrary to their law of secrecy, which in this case they do all generally observe, sharply punishing the breakers thereof as enemies unto their native country; I found this man no whit scrupulous, but very free and liberal of speech in all things. And because we might know, that we should not want hands or help in this or any other our enterprises, if perhaps we should find cause to pass up to the head of this river, he declared that the Spaniards have no Indians to trust unto but some of the Arwaccas, who, since they were not many, could be but of small force; that the Charibes of Guanipa, the Ciawanes among the Tiwitivas, the Shebaios, Iaos, Amaipagotos, Cassipagotos, Purpagotos, Samipagotos, Serowos, Etaiguinams, Cassamari, with the rest of the nations far and near, were all ready, on what side soever the Spaniards shall stir, to fight against them; that the Pariagotos, through whose country they must first pass, are alone sufficient to encounter them, such is the strength of their country, and the valour of the men. The Indians hold opinion, that they are notable sorcerers, and invulnerable. In the mountains where they dwell, white stones are found of such hardness, that by no art or means they can be pierced. They imagine that these Pariogotos become invulnerable by eating these stones. The fable omitted, happily they may prove good diamonds.

Then he shewed how the Iwarewakeri have nourished grass in all places where passage is these three years, and that it is at this present so high as some of the trees; which they mean to burn so soon as the Spaniard shall be within danger thereof. Lastly, he shewed that Wariarimagoto, the emperor's chief captain for those parts, hath gathered together many thousands of the Epuremei to keep the borders of the empire; and that he lay now on the south side of the mountains, some one day's journey, or little more, from the Spaniard. To be short, he certified me, that they all were resolved not to seek upon them (for indeed they fear their shot), but to defend

their own, and to expect our coming. In the meantime they take opportunities, when they find any of them straggling or divided from their strength, by little and little to lessen their number.

The place where we were at anchor was but one day's journey from Carapana; I therefore made motion to this captain to stay with two or three of his company aboard the ship, and to cause his men to bring me with my interpreter to Carapana's dwelling. He answered me, that it were not good so to do, least perhaps some spy might inform the Spaniards thereof, whereby danger would grow to Carapana. For they have many times used many means to reconcile him unto them; but he from time to time hath dallied with them, neither professing himself their enemy, nor in aught shewing them any friendship. Now, (said he) if the Spaniards shall by any means come to knowledge that you have conferred together, they will take this occasion to persecute him with all extremity as their open enemy, whom they now neglect, or at the least fear not, as being an harmless old man. And for this cause only hath Carapana forborne to come unto you. By this I perceived, that to stay longer for him (though gladly I could have been content to spend one se'nnight more to speak with him) would be purposeless. Wherefore, having assured so many of the Indians as at any time came unto us of our speedy return, promising them plenty of knives, beads, and hatchets, if they would reserve their cassavi, and provide store of their pieces of gold for us; I desired this captain to be a means that our friends of Trinidad might understand of our being in the river, and that we meant to relieve them so soon as conveniently might be. He promised in Carapana's behalf, that this should not be forgotten. One of the captains of the Cyawanas, who do now dwell in the river Arawawo near Trinidad, undertook also without fail to ascertain them thereof. I was the more careful herein, because so many ships being here, I doubted lest they would take order that no Indian

should speak with us. For so indeed it fell out. This captain of the Cyawanas came likewise to join with us, and had provided fifteen canoes for that purpose. Their dwelling was lately in Macureo, where the Spaniards one night, stealing on them, killed twenty of their men, and burnt their houses, because they refused to trade with them for certain images of gold made with many heads, which they had gotten out of Guiana. I sent a present of iron to Carapana, and then set sail.

'In turning down the river we spent eight days. In many places where the channel lieth we found twenty fathom depth; where it is shoalest we had two fathom and a half, and that but in one or two places. Of the worthiness of this river, because I cannot say enough, I will speak nothing. We have presumed to call it by the name of Raleana, because yourself was the first of our nation that ever entered the same, and I think it nothing inferior to Amazons, which is best known by the name of Orellana, the first discoverer thereof. By turning only, without help of oare to pass so long a way in so short a time, against the wind, may sufficiently prove that the channel is very large, good, and likely to second our hopes in all that we can desire. Without the mouth of this river our pinnace, the Discoverer, whom we lost near the coast of England, came unto us. She fell with this land somewhat to the southward of Cape Cecil, and had spent three weeks and odd days in ranging along the coast when she met with us. William Downe, the master, informed me that they entered and searched these four rivers. In Wiapoco they sailed so far, until the rocks stopped their passage. In Caiane they went up one day's journey. In Cunanama they found many inhabitants. Curitini was the last river they had been in Whence, having no other means to find Raleana, they were enforced to borrow a pilot against his will, whom afterward I would have returned with reward to his contentment, but he would not.

'Our English, that to steal the first blessing of an untrad-

ed place, will perhaps secretly hasten thither, may be beholden to me for this caveat if they take notice thereof. They may be assured, that this people, as they noway sought our harm, but used our men with all kindness, so are they impatient of such a wrong, as to have any of their people perforce taken from them, and will doubtless seek revenge. The example of the like practice upon the coast of Guinea, in the year 1566, and again at Dominica, where Alderman Wat's ship hardly escaped being taken, may serve for our warning in like case to look for no good, before they be satisfied for this injury.

'When we had taken aboard us such victuals as were in the pinnace, we set fire in her, (for her rudder could serve her to no longer use), and stopping the floods, plied to windward with the ebb near the shore, until we were sixteen leagues to the eastward of the river's mouth, and then standing off to sea we fell in twenty-four hours' sailing with Punta de Galera, the north-eastermost part of Trinidad. But having Tobaco island in sight we first went thither. This island is plentiful of all things, and a very good soil. It is not now inhabited, because the Charibes of Dominica are evil neighbours unto it. They of Trinidad have a meaning and purpose to fly thither, when no longer they can keep Trinidad. Their only doubt is, that when they are seated there the Spaniard will seek to possess it also. The governor of Margarita went lately in a pinnace to view this island. Gilbert, my pilot, who sometime lived there, noteth it for the best and fruitfulest ground that he knoweth.

'Thence we returned to Punta de Galera, and anchored in ten fathom under the north side of the island, some five or six miles from the said point. The flood-tide striketh along the coast to the eastward very strongly. We discharged a piece of ordnance, and afterward went to the shore in our boat; but no Indian came unto us. I would have sent John of Trinidad to procure some of them to speak with

us; but he was altogether unwilling, alleging that their dwellings were far within the mountains, and that he knew no part of that side of the island. From this place we set sail for Santa Lucia, but fell with Granata, which we found not inhabited. Saint Vincent we hardly recovered, by turning under the lee of the island. The tobacco of this place is good; but the Indians being cannibals, promising us store, and delaying us from day to day, sought only opportunity to betray, take, and eat us, as lately they had devoured the whole company of a French ship. This their treachery being by one of their slaves revealed, from thenceforth they did all forbear to come unto us. To sit down on their low stools, when they by offering such ease will seem to shew courtesy, abodeth death to strangers that shall trust them. At Matalino or Martinino we found not any inhabitants. Lastly, we came to Dominica, where we could get no good tobacco. But having intelligence of a Spanish ship that was taking in of fresh-water at the north-west side of the island, we weighed anchor to seek him. He, descrying us, stole away by night. The Indians of this place have determined to remove, and join with them of Guanipa against the Spaniards, who lately dispeopled one of their islands; and at our being there one of their canoes returned from Guanipa, and certified us, that the ten Spanish ships at Trinidad do ride, some of them at Conquerabia, the rest at the small islands near the disemboging place. Herehence we steered north and by east, taking the directest course to shorten our way homeward.

'Thus have I emptied your purse, spending my time and travel in following your lordship's directions for the full discovery of this coast, and the rivers thereof. Concerning the not making of a voyage for your private profit, I pretend nothing. Sorry I am, that where I sought no excuse, by the Spaniards being there, I found my defect remediless. And for mine own part I do protest, that if the consideration of the public good that may ensue, had not overpoised all other

hopes and desires, I would rather have adventured by such small and weak means as I had, to do well with danger, than to return only with safety. Now, although in a cause not doubtful, my allegation is noway needful; yet, because the weightiness thereof, and the expectation of others, seemeth of due and right to claim something to be said by me, whom your especial trust and favour hath credited and graced with this employment, pardon it, (I beseech your honour) if, where my lamp had oil, it borrow light also; and my speech, which is altogether unsavory, season itself with some of the leaven of your own discourse touching this discovery. The particular relation of some certain things I have reserved as properly belonging to yourself, who only, as knowing most, can make best use thereof. So much in general is here touched, as (I hope) may serve to refresh the memory of this worthy enterprize in those whom it may concern, and testify your care and expence in following the same. That in a second age, when in time truth shall have credit, and men, wondering at the riches and strength of this place, (which nature itself hath marvellously fortified, as her chief treasure-house) shall mourn and sigh to hold idle sickles, while others reap and gather in this harvest, it be not said that Sir Walter Ralegh was of all men living in his days most industrious in seeking, most fortunate in attaining to the fulness of an inestimable public good; if (knowing that for envy and private respects, his labours were lessened, his informations mistrusted, his proffers not regarded, and the due honour of his deserts imparted to others) if, (I say) seeing, knowing, and hearing all this, he with patience had persisted in so good a way in doing his princess and country service, and had but perfected his first discovery by sending a ship or two for that purpose. For then surely all lets and doubts being removed, and so large a kingdom, so exceeding rich, so plentiful of all things, as this by his discourse appeared to be, being offered; no devices and vain surmises could have taken place, no illusions could have

prevailed; it had been blindness and deafness in those, that being near her Majesty do spend their days in serving the commonweal, not to see and know in so weighty a matter; it had been malicious obstinacy, impotence of mind, and more than treason to the commonwealth, the matter standing only upon acceptance, to seek either to forealow so fit an occasion, or forsake so general a blessing. This (if) is now cut off through a singular and incomparable temper, in overcoming evil with good.

'This your second discovery hath not only found a free and open entrance into Raleana, which the naturals call Oronoko, but moreover yieldeth choice of forty several great rivers, (the lesser I do not reckon) being for the most part with small vessels navigable for our merchants and others, that do now find little profit in setting forth for reprisal to exercise trade in. To such as shall be willing to adventure in search of them I could propose some hope of gold mines, and certain assurance of pieces of made gold, of spleen stones, kidney stones, and others of better estimate. But because our belief seemeth to be mated in these greater matters, and a certainty of smaller profits is the readiest inducement to quicken our weak hopes, I, not going so far as mine own eyes might warrant me, do only promise in the aforesaid rivers brazil wood, honey, cotton, balsamum, and drugs, to help to defray charges; and farther, because without a beginning there can be no continuance of these benefits unto our country to any that shall be the first undertakers hereof, I am gladly content, to give such light and knowledge as by conference with the Indians I have attained unto.

'Myself and the remain of my few years I have bequeathed wholly to Raleana, and all my thoughts live only in that action. The prosecuting whereof is in itself just, profitable, and necessary. Just, because it is intended for the defence of harmless people, who, fearing thraldom and oppression, desire to protect themselves and their country under her Ma-

jesty's tuition. Profitable as may be gathered not only by many Spanish letters intercepted, but also by the proofs mentioned in the discourse of the first discovery, and since that by the Indians own voluntary relations; and lastly, by the provision that the Spaniards do make to acquit us thereof. Necessary it is, as being the only help to put a bit in the mouth of the unbridled Spaniard; the only way to enter into his treasury of Nuevo Reyno and Peru; the only means to animate the wronged Indians, with our assistance to seek revenge for the extreme murders and cruelties which they have endured, and to ruinate his naked cities in all those parts of the inland, whose foundations have been laid in the blood of their parents and ancestors.

'The forces that the Spaniard hath already sent to Trinidad to fortify there, and keep the passage of this river, are an evident argument that the king feareth and doubteth the sequel of this discovery. For, can it be a small matter, or, hath he so waste employment for his men and shipping, that upon no ground he would send eight-and-twenty ships to keep us only from tobacco? For what else that good is can Trinidad yield us? No, doubtless, if the return of Berreo's campmaster, with ten of these ships be compared with precedent advertisements concerning him, it will appear more than proble, that the Guiana gold waged these men and shipping, and that they are now more careful to obtain this place, than to keep others which they have already gotten; which note, except in matters of extraordinary account, is not incident to their policy and proceedings. Again, it cannot be thought that either it was senseless madness in the governors of Margarita and the Caraccas, to bring their states and lives in question, by seeking, contrary to their king's order, to enter Guiana and kill Berreo with his followers; or else, the abundance of pearl in Margarita, and the gold mines in the Caraccas, seeming matters of small account, Guiana only was in their

judgment, rich, plentiful, and able of itself to redeem their trespass and offence, how great soever it should be.

'The sundry attempts and overthrows of the Spaniards, being men of power and honourable place, in labouring threescore and three years and upward to enlarge the kingdom of Spain with this mighty and great empire, do plainly shew that they long time sought a path, where in one month a highway was found. That the loss of their lives witnesseth their desires, and the worthiness of the thing, where to us the easiness of obtaining discrediteth the greatness of the attempt. And that if now at the last they do prevail, they must hold by tyranny that which they got by the sword; where, than our return nothing by the Indians is more wished for, nothing expected more earnestly.

'Those objections which have been made by many seeming wise, and the impediments likely to arise, as they have supposed, are best answered by the unreproved witness of those mens' actions. Some have termed these discoveries fables and fantasies, as if there had been no such land or territory; others, allowing both of the place, and that such a kingdom or country is discovered, make conclusion, that if it had been so rich as we have supposed, that no doubt the king of Spain would by this time have possessed it. But if they consider that the Spanish nation hath already conquered the two empires of Mexico and Peru, with so many other kingdoms and provinces, we may very well answer, that his power is not infinite, and that he hath done well for the time. And yet it is manifest, that this very empire hath been by all those several Spaniards (the catalogue of whose names is by itself hereunto annexed) at sundry times undertaken, and never performed. Howbeit, the world hath reason to admire their constancy and their great labours, and we may well blush at our own idle, despairful, and loitering dispositions, that can find ability in another barren and starved nation, to possess so much of the world, and can do nothing but frame arguments against ourselves, as unfit and powerless to

possess one province already discovered, and of which our nation hath assurance of the people's love, and that all the chieftains and principals have vowed their obedience to her Majesty; the navigation being withal so short, dangerless, and free from infectious sickness. If doubt of perils might moderate the minds of our men, once moved with steadfast hope that gold shall be the reward of their travels, it may easily be perceived, that all those lets and hindrances that can any way be alleged, or wrested so much as but to touch us, do deeply and nearly concern the Spanish king, and in a manner violently withold him from that, which he notwithstanding carrieth with success; while we out of season do affect the bare stile, to be named men stayed and circumspect in our proceedings.

'It is reported, that Calanus the Indian threw down before Alexander the Great, a dry sear piece of leather, and then put his foot on one of the ends of it; the leather being trod down at that side, rose on all parts else. By this the wise man did shew unto him a figure and similitude of his kingdom, which being exceeding large, must of necessity, in all other parts, excepting the place of the king's residence, be alway full of stirs, tumults, and insurrections. The end afterward confirmed, that this empire, consisting of sundry nations, could not keep itself from dissolution. No potentate living hath, or can have, so faithful and incorrupt counsellors, as be the examples and histories of forepassed times and ages. We may, therefore, be bold to think, that the governors of the Spanish affairs should mind it, that their king's lustful desire, and ambitious thoughts to establish over all Europe one law, one lord, one religion, are built and erected on a dangerous ungrounded resolution; considering that many of the neighbour kingdoms, being of equal force in men, or greater than he can make, are settled in a long continued estate, are entire within themselves, and hate to hear the voice of a stranger. It is not unlikely, that they, in this case, should lay before their king the fatal destinies of many worthies, that have been constrained for want

of sufficient numbers of their natural subjects, after many years spent in the wars, to retire to their own countries, and have been glad peaceably to hold their own signiories at home, resigning all that unto others which they have gotten abroad by hard adventure, and much effusion of blood.

The king of Spain cannot but discern, that his spacious empires and kingdoms, being so many, and so far divided one from another, are like the members of a monstrous body, tied together with cables only. For, take away the traffic of unnecessary commodities transported out of Spain, those huge countries of the Indies having no common link of affinity, law, language, or religion, and being of themselves able to maintain themselves without foreign commerce, are not so simple as not to know their own strength, and to find that they do rather possess Spaniards, than that they are possessed by them. He cannot be ignorant that Spain itself is on all sides environed with many puissant enemies, mighty and great princes, who, knowing it to be rich without men, confident without reason, proud and adventurous without means sufficient, may happily confederate to chastise him, as an insolent intruder and disturber of all quietness; and going no further than Spain itself may even there shake the foundation of his long contrived devices, and in one act redeem the time, controul his aspiring humour, and break the bands in sunder that import servitude and subversion to all the dominions of Christendom. Again, his council may well inform him, that to dispeople and disable himself at home, in hope to obtain Guiana, being a country strong of itself, and defended with infinite multitudes of Indian enemies, being rich, and by the inhabitants offered unto the English, his contempt toward us would seem so intolerable and despiteful as might be sufficient to provoke us, though otherwise we had no such inclination. If he, unprovided of able helps to effect it, should rest himself on a careless presumption, that we cannot, we dare not, we will not stir in a matter that promiseth us so great benefit, and may so highly

offend him, he may be persuaded, that to leave no other succour or safety to his nakedness, but the old stale practice of spreading rumours, and giving out false intelligences of preparations to invade England, thereby to keep us at home; or else of hiring and suborning some Machavellian under-hand by secret conveyance, to stop the course of our proceedings; or lastly, of procuring some wild outlaw to disquiet our tranquillity, is but a poor, weak, and uncertain stay to uphold his estate by. And yet setting suchlike drifts aside, what can be imagined likely to hinder us from prevailing in Guiana, rather than him whose disadvantage is to be encumbered with the selfsame and manifold more impediments, than can any way be supposed with good cause to impeach or divorce us from so profitable an attempt? All this notwithstanding, if the Spanish king, not being able to dissemble his desire, or bear the loss of this one kingdom, putting himself out of his strength at home, and exposing his people to the hazard of all casualties abroad, be resolved, whatsoever shall happen, not to relinquish Guiana, but to keep this one iron more in the fire, on no other assurance but a peremptory disdain of prevention; if he appear so eagerly bent for Guiana, as if it were enacted for a law among themselves *viis et modis* to thurst for it, and not to hear, conceive, or believe any thing that may dissuade or deter from the conquest thereof; it then appertaineth unto us not to enforce those objections against ourselves, which he with less reason rejecteth as frivolous, since by how much the more earnest he is in following this purpose, by so much the less cause have we to be diverted from it.

To such as shall be willing farther to wade in this argument, for brevity's sake I do propose only this bare assertion; that England and Guiana conjoined are stronger and more easily defended, than if England alone should repose herself on her own force and powerfulness. The reasons that might be inferred to prove this need no rational discourse; they are all intimated in the only example of Spain itself, which without

the Indies is but a purse without money, or a painted sheath without a dagger. In sum; it seemeth unto me, that whereas the difficulty of performing this enterprise hath been produced for a discouragement; it were a dull conceit of strange weakness in ourselves to distrust our own power so much, or at least our own hearts and courages, as valuing the Spanish nation to be omnipotent, or yielding that the poor Portuguese hath that mastering spirit and conquering industry above us, as to be able to seat himself among the many mighty princes of the East Indies, to frontier China, to hold in subjection the Philippians, Zeilan, Calecut, Goa, Ormus, Mozambique, and the rest; the navigation being so tedious and full of peril, to suffer ourselves to be put back for worthless cyphers out of place, without account. All which regions being now also by the late conquest of Portugal entitled to the Spanish king, to whom the colonies of those parts do yet generally refuse to swear fealty and allegiance; and the care depending on him, not only in governing them in the east, so far off, but also of ordering and strengthening of those disunited, scattered, and ill-guarded empires and provinces in the west; it might very well be alleged to the said Spanish king, that it were more wisdom for him to assure and fortify some part of those already gotten, than to begin the conquest of Guania so far separate from the rest of his Indies, in which he hath had so many misfortunes, and against whom the natural people are so impetuously bent and opposed; were it not that it exceedeth all the rest in abundance of gold and other riches. The case then so standing, is it not mere wretchedness in us to spend our time, break our sleep, and waste our brains in contriving a cavilling false title to defraud a neighbour of half an acre of land? whereas here whole shires of fruitful rich grounds lying now waste for want of people, do prostitute themselves unto us, like a fair and beautiful woman, in the pride and flower of desired years.

If we do but consider how unhappily Berreo's affairs, with

his assistants, have of late years in our own knowledge succeeded, who can say if the hand of the Almighty be not against them, and that he hath a work in this place, instead of papistry to make the sincere light of his gospel to shine on this people? The effecting whereof shall be a royal crown of everlasting remembrance to all other blessings, that from the beginning the Lord hath plentifully poured on our dread sovereign, in an eminent and supreme degree of all perfection. If the Castilians, pretending a religious care of planting Christianity in those parts, have in their doings preached nought else but avarice, rapine, blood, death, and destruction to those naked and sheeplike creatures of God, erecting statues and trophies of victory unto themselves in the slaughters of millions of innocents, doth not the cry of the poor succourless ascend unto the heavens? Hath God forgotten to be gracious to the workmanship of his own hands? Or shall not his judgments in a day of visitation by the ministry of his chosen servant come on these blood-thirsty butchers, like rain into a fleece of wool? *Aliquando manifesta, aliquando occulta, semper justa sunt Dei judicia.*

To leave this digression, it is fit only for a prince to begin and end this work; the maintenance and ordering thereof requireth sovereign power, authority, and commandment. The river of Raleana giveth open and free passage, any provision that the Spaniard can make to the contrary notwithstanding, (for once yearly the lands near the river be all drowned) to convey men, horse, munition, and victual, for any power of men that shall be sent thither. I do speak it on my soul's health, as the best testimony that I can in any cause yield to aver a truth, that having now the second time been in this country, and with the helps of time and leisure well advised myself upon all circumstances to be thought on, I can discern no sufficient impediment to the contrary, but that with a competent number of men, her Majesty may to her and her successors enjoy this rich and great empire; and having once planted

there, may for ever (by the favour of God) hold and keep it, *contra Judæos et Gentes.* Subjects, I doubt not, may, through her Majesty's gracious suffrance, joining their strength together, invade, spoil, and over-run it, returning with gold and great riches. But what good of perpetuity can follow thereof? or who can hope that they will take any other course than such as tendeth to a private and present benefit? considering that an empire once obtained, is of congruity, how and wheresoever the charge shall grow, to be annexed unto the crown. The riches of this place are not fit for any private estate. No question, they will rather prove sufficient to cross and countervail the Spaniard's proceedings in all parts of Christendom, where his money maketh way to his ambition.

If the necessity of following this enterprise doth nothing urge us, because in some case better a mischief, than an inconvenience; let the convenience thereof somewhat move us, in respect both of so many gentlemen, soldiers, and younger brothers, who, if for want of employment they do not die like cloyed cattle in rank easefulness, are enforced for maintenance-sake, sometimes to take shameful and unlawful courses; and in respect of so many handicraftsmen having able bodies, that do live in cleanness of teeth and poverty. To sacrifice the children of Belial unto the commonweal, is not to defile the land with blood, because the law of God doth not prohibit it, and the execution of justice requireth it to be so. But yet, if the water-boughs, that suck and feed on the juice and nourishment that the fruitful branches should live by, are to be cut down from the tree and not regarded, lucky and prosperous be that right hand that shall plant and possess a soil, where they may fructify, increase, and grow to good! Thrice honourable and blessed be the memory of so charitable a deed, from one generation to another!

To conclude, your lordship hath paid for the discovery and search, both in your own person, and since by me. You have framed it, and moulded it ready for her Majesty to set on her seal.

If either envy or ignorance, or other device frustrate the rest, the good which shall grow to our enemies, and the loss which will come to her Majesty and this kingdom, will after a few years shew itself. We have more people, more ships, and better means, and yet do nothing. The Spanish king hath had so sweet a taste of the riches thereof, as notwithstanding that he is lord of so many empires and kingdoms already, notwithstanding his enterprises of France and Flanders, notwithstanding that he attended this year a home invasion, yet he sent twenty-eight sail to Trinidad, whereof ten were for that place and Guiana, and had some other ships ready at Cadiz, if the same had not been by my lords, her Majesty's generals, and your Lordship, set on fire.

In one word, the time serveth, the like occasion seldom happeneth in many ages, the former-repeated considerations do all jointly together importune us, now or never to make ourselves rich, our posterity happy, our prince every way stronger than our enemies, and to establish our country in a state flourishing and peaceable. O, let not then such an indignity rest on us, as to deprave so notable an enterprise with false rumours, and vain suppositions; to sleep in so serious a matter, and renouncing the honour, strength, wealth, and sovereignty of so famous a conquest, to leave all unto the Spainard!'

*A Table of the names of the Rivers, Nations, Towns, and Cassiques or Captains, discovered in the second Guiana voyage.. the names of those worthy Spaniards who have sought to discover and conquer Guiana—and an advertisement to the reader.*

[From HAKLUYT's Voyages, III, 687—692.]

*A Table of the names of the Rivers, Nations, Towns, and Cassiques or Captains that in this second voyage were discovered.*

| | *Rivers.* | *Nations.* | *Towns.* | *Captains.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Arowari, *great.* | Arwaos, Pararweas, Charibes. | | |
| 2 | Iwaripoco, *very great.* | Mapurwanas, Iaos. | | |
| 3 | Maipari, *great.* | Arricarri. | | |
| 4 | Caipurough, *great.* | Arricurri. | | |
| 5 | Arcooa, *great.* | Marowannas, Charibes. | | |
| 6 | Wiapoco, *great.* | Coonoracki, Wacacoia, Wariseaco. | | |
| 7 | Wanari. | Charibes. | | |
| 8 | Capurwacka, *great.* | Charibes. | | |
| 9 | Cawo, *great.* | Iaos. | Icoomana. | Wareo. |
| 10 | Wia, *great.* | Maworia, Charib. Wiaco. Ch. | Parammona, *great.* | Mashwipo. |
| 11 | Caiane, *great.* | Wiaco, Ch. | Canawi, *great.* | |
| | Gowateri, *a great island.* | Shebaios. | Orinikero. | Parawatteo. |

1. These are enemies to the Iaos, their money is of white and green stones. They speak the Tivitivas' language; so likewise do the nation of the Arricarri, who have greater store of those monies than any others.

2. Here it was, as it seemeth, that Vincent Pinçon the Spaniard had his emeralds. In one of these two rivers certain Frenchmen that suffered shipwreck some two or three years since do live.

3, 4, 5. These with the other two seem to be braaches of the great river of Amazons. When we first fell with land, we were by the Indian's report, but one day's journey from the greatest river that is on that coast.

6. The first mountains that appear within land, do lie on the east side of this river. From the mouth thereof the inhabitants do pass with their canoes in twenty days to the

| | Rivers. | Nations. | Towns. | Captains. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12 | Macuria. | Piraos. Ch. | | |
| 13 | Cawroora. | Arawaccos, Charib. | | |
| 14 | Manmanuri. | Ipaios. Ch. | | |
| 15 | Cureey. | Shebaios. | | |
| 16 | Curassawini. | Shebaios. | Musswara, *great.* | Ocapanio. |
| 17 | Cunanama. | Iaos. Arwaccas. | Waritappi, *great.* | Carinamari. Curipotoore. |
| 18 | Uracco. Moruga. | Arwaccas. Arwaccas. | | Marwabo. Eramacoa. |
| 19 | Mawari. | Winicinas. Arwaccas. | Iwanama. | Aranacoa. |
| 20 | Mawarpari. | Arwaccas. | Awaricana. | Mahahonero. |
| 21 | Amonna, *very great.* Capeleppo, *great.* | Charibes. | Iaremappo, *very great.* | |
| 22 | Marawani, *great.* | Paracuttos. | | |
| 23 | Owcowi, | | | |
| 24 | Wiawiami. | | | |
| 25 | Aramatappo. | | | |
| 26 | Wiapo. | | | |
| 27 | Macuruma. | | | |
| 28 | Carapi. | | | |
| 29 | Uraca. | | | |
| 30 | Chaimawinini, *great.* | Carepini. Charib. | | |
| 31 | Ecrowto. | Upotommas | | Caponaiarie |

salt lake, where Manoa standeth. The water hath many cataracts like Caroli, but that they are of greater distance one from another; where it falls into the sea, hills do inclose it on both sides.

10. The freshet shoots out into the sea with great force; the sea doth here sometimes camp high and break, as if it were full of rocks; but in proof, it is nothing else but the pride and force of the tides. In this bay, and round about, so far as the mountains do extend, there is great store of brasil-wood, some of it bearing far darker colour than other some. Here are also many sorts of other good woods.

14. These speak the language of the Indians of Dominica. They are but few, but very cruel to their enemies. For they bind and eat them alive piecemeal. This torment is not comparable to the deadly pain that cometh of hurts or wounds, made by those arrows that are envenomed with the juice of the herb wapototo. These Indians, because they eat them whom they kill, use no poison. The sea-coast is nowhere populous, for they have much wasted themselves in mutual wars. But now in all parts

| | Rivers. | Nations. | Towns. | Captains. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 32 | Pawro. | Arwaccas. | Maripomma. | |
| 33 | Shurinama, *great.* | Carepini. Chari. | | |
| 34 | Shurama, *great.* | Carepini. Char. | Cupari. | |
| 35 | Northumbria, *or* Cupana, *very great.* | Arwaccas. | | |
| 36 | Wioma. | | Tawroomene. | |
| 37 | Cushwini. | Neekeari. | | Neperwari. |
| 38 | Inana, *great.* | Carepini. | Owaripoore. | |
| 39 | Curitini, *great.* | Arwaccas. Parawianni. | Mawronama. | |
| 40 | Winitwari, *great.* | | Maiapoore. Cariwacka. | |
| 41 | Berbice, *great.* | Arwaccas. | Aneta. Manacobeece. Eppera. Parawiannos. Lupulee. | Warawaroco. |
| 42 | Wapari. | Shebaios. Arwaccas. | Madewini. | Benmurwagh. |
| 43 | Maicawini. | Panapi. Arwaccas. | Itewee. | Caporoca, *great cap.* |
| 44 | Mahawaica. | Arwaccas. | Maburesa, *great.* | |
| 45 | Lemerare, *great.* | Wacawaios. | Maburesa, *great.* | |
| 46 | Devoritia, *or* Dessekebe, *very great.* | Arwaccas. Iaos. Shebaios. Arwaccas. | | |
| | Matorooni. | Charibes. | | |
| | Coowini. | Maripai. | | |
| | Chipanama. | Wocowaios. | | |
| | Arawanna. | Parawianni. | | |

so far as Oronoko, they live in league and peace.

21. Near the head of this river, Capeleppo falleth out of the plains, and runneth into the sea with Curitini. Some of the Guianians live in this river.

39. This river, as also most of the rest, is not navigable above six days' journey by reason of rocks. It is ten days journey to the head, where the Guianians do dwell. Honey, yarn or cotton, silk, balsamum, and brasil-beds, are here to be had in plenty, and so all the coast along eastward. Some images of gold, spleen-stones, and others, may be gotten on this coast, but they do somewhat extraordinarily esteem of them, because everywhere they are current money. They get their moons, and other pieces of gold, by exchange, taking for each one of their greater canoes, one piece or image of gold, with three heads; and after that rate for their lesser canoes, they receive pieces of gold of less value. One hatchet is the ordinary price for a canoe. They have everywhere divers sorts of drugs, gums, and roots, which I doubt not by farther trial, will be found medicinable.

| | *Rivers.* | *Nations.* | *Towns.* | *Captains.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 46 | Itorebece. | Iwarewakeri | Caiaremappo. Waroopana. | |
| 47 | Pawrooma, *great.* | Isabi. | Maripa. Chipariparo. | Macapowa. |
| | Aripacoro. | Panipi. | Towrwi. | Shuracoima. |
| | Ecawini. | | Sarinbugh. | |
| | Manurawini. | | Wariwagh. | |
| 48 | Moruga, *great.* | Iaos. | Cooparoore, *great.* | Manare-cowa. |
| | Piara. | Arwaccas. | Awiapari. | |
| | Chaimeragoro. | | Topoo. | Iarwanrema. |
| 49 | Waini, *great.* | Charibes. | Tocoopoima, *great.* | Parana. |
| 50 | Barima, *great.* | Charibes. | Pekwa, *gr.* | Anawra. |
| | Caitooma. | Arwaccas. | Arwakima. | Aparwa. |
| | Arooca. | | | Arracurri. |
| 51 | Amacur, *great.* | | | |
| 52 | Aratoori, *great.* | | | |
| | Cawrooma, *great.* | | | |
| | Raleana, *or* Oronoko. | | | |
| | Maipar, Itacaponea, Owarecapater. Warucanasso. | Islands in the mouth of Raleana. | | |

*Names of poisoned herbs.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Ourari. | Apareepo. |
| Carassi. | Parapara. |

*Herbs good against poison.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Turara. | Wapo. |
| Cutarapama. | Macatto. |

The 29th day of June we arrived in Portland-road, having spent five months in going, staying, and returning.

*Here follow the names of those worthy Spaniards that have sought to discover and conquer Guiana; extracted out of the writings of Juan de Castellanos Clerigo, who compiled the book intituled, Primera Parte de las Elegias de Varones Illustres de Indias.*

'The enterprise of Guiana was undertaken by Diego de Ordas of the kingdom of Leon, in the year 1531. He was one of the captains of Cortes in the conquest of Mexico. This Ordas made his entrance by the river of Amana, by which we entered, and spent fifty days before he came to the river of Oronoko, which we passed in fifteen. He named the river by which he entered, Viapari; which name it still retaineth in the Spanish descriptions. It lieth south from Trinidad some five leagues. He transported out of Spain 1,000 soldiers. He died afterward at sea in returning for Spain.

'2, Juan Corteso arrived at the river of Amazons or Orellana with 300 men. He marched up into the country; but neither he nor any of his company did return again.

'3, Gaspar de Sylva, with his two brothers, departed from Teneriff, accompanied with 200 men to assist Diego de Ordas. They sought El Dorado by the river of Amazons; but staying there a short time they fell down to Trinidad, where they all three were buried.

'4, Juan Gonsales set sail from Trinidad to discover Guiana. He reposed himself more on the faith of his guides, than on his small number of men. He by trial found the confines of Guiana, so far as he entered, to be populous, plentiful of victual, and rich in gold. Upon such proofs as he brought with him, to make good his report, many others adventured to follow his steps.

'5, 6, Philip de Vren, and after him Pedro de Limpias, who both successively commanded the Almains, were leaders

in this action. Limpias was slain by an Indian cassique named Porima.

'7, Jeronimo de Ortol undertook it by the way of Maracapana. After great travail, and his substance all spent, he died on the sudden at S^t. Domingo.

'8, 9, Ximenes, brother of Don Ximenes de Quesida the Adelantado and Pedro de Orsua were both at sundry times in the same conquest.

'10, Father Iala, a friar, taking with him only one companion, and some Indian guides, passed into the provinces of Guiana. He returned with good intelligence, and brought with him eagles, idols, and other jewels of gold, anno 1560. He assayed the second time to pass in like manner, but was slain by the Indians.

'11, Hernandez de Serpa also undertook it. The Indians of Cumanawgoto killed him, and defeated his army.

'12, Afterward, Diego de Vargas, and his son Don Juan followed this enterprise, and at their first setting out were slain by the Indians.

'13, Caceres undertook this discovery from Nuevo Reyno de Granada. He came no nearer to it than Matachines, which borders upon the said kingdom of Granada. He rested there and peopled that place.

'14, It was also attempted by Alonço de Herera, at two several times. He endured great misery, but never entered one league into the country. He sought it by Viapari or Amana, and was at last slain by a nation of Indians called Xaguas.

'15, It was also undertaken by Antonio Sedenno, with whom Herera and Augustine Delgado joined in the conquest of Trinidad, against Bawcunar, a famous king of that place. He passed by Maracapana in the year 1536 to discover El Dorado with 500 chosen men. In this journey he got much gold, and took many Indian prisoners, whom he manacled in irons; and many of them died as they were led in the way.

The tigers being fleshed on those dead carcases assaulted the Spaniards, who with much trouble hardly defended themselves from them. Sedenno was buried within the precinct of the empire near the head of the river Tinados. Most of his people perished likewise.

'16, Augustine Delgado searched the country to the southward of Cumanawgotto with 53 footmen and three horsemen. The wars that were then between the Indians of the vale and those of the mountains, served well for his purpose. By which occasion he found means to pass so far, until he came to an Indian cassique, named Garamental, who entertained him with all kindness, and gave him for a present some rich jewels of gold, six seemly pages, ten young slaves, and three nymphs very beautiful, which bare the names of three provinces from whence they were sent to Garamental chief commander of all that country. Their names were Guanba, Gotoguane, and Maiarare. These provinces are of an excellent temperature, very healthful, and have an admirable influence in producing fair women. The Spaniards afterward to requite the manifold courtesies that they received in that country, took and carried away, beside all the gold that they could get, all the Indians that they could lay hold on; they conveyed them in irons to Cubagua, and sold them for slaves. Delgado afterward was shot in the eye by an Indian, of which hurt he died.

'17, Diego de Losada succeeded in his brother's place. He had many more men, who in the end wasted themselves in mutinies; those that lived returned to Cubagua.

'18, Reynoso undertook this journey, but having endured exceeding troubles, in the discomfort of his mind he gave it over, and was buried in Hispaniola.

'19, Pedro de Orsua, in the year 1560, sought it with 400 Spaniards by the river of Orellana. He embarked his men in the country of the Motijones. As they passed down the river they found cinnamon trees. His men murdered him,

and afterward the said rebels beheaded Lady Anes, his wife, who forsook not her lord in all his travels, unto death.

'20, Friar Francis Montesino was in the province of Maracapana with 100 soldiers, bound for Guiana, when Lopez Aguiri the tyrant, made insurrection in all those parts of the Indies. What became of this intended journey is not expressed.

'In this discovery of Guiana, you may read both of Orellana who discovered the river of Amazons, An. 1542, and of Berreo, with others that have trod this maze, and lost themselves in seeking to find this country.

*An Advertisement to the Reader.*

'In this breviary, the names only are comprised of such as being led with the general fame of Guiana, have endeavoured to discover and possess it. The whole histories are long, and cannot suddenly be translated or Englished at large, as we in these elegies find them. It may perhaps seem strange and incredible, that so many cavalleros should all fail in this one attempt, since in many parts of the Indies, far smaller numbers in shorter time have performed as great matters, and subdued mighty kingdoms. I have therefore thought it good here to allege those reasons, which, by circumstance may be gathered to have been chief impediments to the Spaniard in this intended search and conquest.

'The first may be the remoteness or distance of their places of rendesvous from El Dorado; which appear to be four, Nuevo Reyno, the mouth of Amazons or Orellana, Cubagua, or the coast of the Caracas, and Trinidad.

'1, From Moiobamba, where Orellana hath his head spring, to his mouth, the Spaniards account it 2,000 leagues. Raleana riseth near the said mountains in Moiobamba, and tributeth his waters to the sea, not far from the other. Guiana is environed with these two freshwater seas, where their

distance is greatest from their risings, and is beside guarded with impassable mountains which inclose and defend it on all parts excepting Topiawari's country. It is no marvel then, if the vigour, heart, and life of those Spaniards, who sought it from Nuevo Reyno, were allayed and spent, before they came near to it, in those long, desolate, and uncomfortable ways.

'2, From Cubagua to seek it by sea in vessels of any burden, is a work of far greater labour than to sail directly from Spain. And to pass overland is a matter of great difficulty, by reason that the Indian nations inhabiting between the coast of the Caracas and Guiana, being wearied and hurried with the daily incursions of the Spaniards, have now turned their abused patience into fury, refusing to suffer any forces of men to be led through their countries. For the Spaniards travelling in those parts, when they found not gold answerable to their expectation, overlaid them with cruelties, tyranny, and thraldom; forbearing neither men, women, friends, nor foes. Which manner of dealing, though in some part it satisfied their desire of present profit, yet hath it otherwise done them much harm in hardening and driving those nations to desperate resolutions.

'3, From the mouth of Orellana to seek entrance with any number of men, and to bore a hole through the mountains, is all one. Neither find we, that any seeking it that way, have at any time boasted of their gains or pleasurable journeys.

'4, From Trinidad, as the course is shortest, so doth it promise best likelihood of success. Howbeit, impossible it is with any vessel of ordinary burden by that way to recover the river of Raleana.

'The second; the Spaniards have been so far from helping and farthering one another, or admitting partners or coadjutors in the Guiana cause, that among so many attempts, from the beginning to the last, I cannot find any one, when

they were otherwise likeliest to prevail, free from discords, mutinies, and cruel murders among themselves.

'Thirdly, the Spaniards in this place have missed that advantage, which elsewhere have steaded themselves in all their conquests; namely, the dissentions and mutual wars of the Indians. Which of what force it is, may be gathered by the example Arauco in Chili. For the Indians of that one province, containing in circuit not above twenty leagues, have maintained wars above these thirty years against all the Spaniards, and in despite of them have kept their own country, oftentimes discomfiting their enemies in many set battles, burning, and destroying some of their strongest towns. The chief reason whereof I take to be; because no Indian nation was enemy unto them. And howsoever the Spaniards vaunt of their redoubted exploits in the Indies, yet do their own writings in effect testify, that without the aid of the Indians, divided among themselves, Mexico, Peru, and the rest, had never been Spanish.

'Lastly, I can impute it to no cause so rightly, as immediately to the Divine Providence; for by him princes reign. And in my belief (except we will look to be warned by miracle from heaven) we need no farther assurances, than we already have, to persuade ourselves that it hath pleased God of his infinite goodness, in his will and purpose, to appoint and reserve this empire for us.'

## No. XI.

### THE THIRD VOYAGE SET FORTH BY SIR WALTER RALEGH TO GUIANA, WITH A PINNACE CALLED THE WAT, IN THE YEAR 1596; WRITTEN BY MR. THOMAS MASHAM, A GENTLEMAN OF THE COMPANY.

[See HAKLUYT's Voyages, III, 692.]

'Upon Thursday October 14, 1596, we set sail from Limehouse upon the river of Thames; and, through much contrariety of winds and other accidents, we made it December 27th before we could get out of Weymouth. January 25th. in the morning, we came to the north side of the island of Grand Canaria, where we hoped to have gotten a boat to serve us upon the coast of Guiana; but the wind was so great that we could not launch our shallop, so we passed along by the road and the town, and at length saw a boat lying on shore, which being too big for us, we ripped up and wooded ourselves with her. That day we descried a sail, which at length we found to be a fly-boat of Dartmouth, of 200 tons, bound to the island of Mayo for salt. We fell in consort with her, and that night stood for the southermost part of the island there to water, where we staid all the next day, and watered at the south-south-west part thereof. That night we weighed and stood away together S. S. E. and south and by east, purposing by their persuasion to go for the river Doro.

'January 28th, we made the farthermost part of Barbary; and this morning we met with Mr. Benjamin Wood, with his fleet of three sail bound for the straits of Magellan and China, to wit, the Bear, the Whelp, and the Benjamin, who told us that there was no good to be done in the river Doro.

Whereupon we stood along with them for Cape Blanco, unto which we came upon Sunday night next following. And upon Monday morning, February 1st, we saw two ships in a sandy bay; so we steered in with them, which were Frenchmen bound for the West Indies, and put all into the bay; where we refreshed ourselves with fish, of which there was infinite store, and staid there until Thursday the 5th, at which time we stood up with the cape again, where rode the Frenchman and his pinnace, who put forth right afore us, and another Frenchman and his caravel well manned. So all we five English came to an anchor by them, where after kind greeting with many shots out of every ship both English and French, all our captains were invited to a feast aboard the French admiral; where, after great cheer and kind entertainment, it was concluded on all hands to take the isle of Fogo, if God would give us leave.

'The same day we all weighed and stood along for the isle of Sal, unto which we came the 8th of February, and anchored altogether at a bay in the west part thereof; in which island we had good store of goats and fresh fish. There is no man dwelling upon the island that we could see. We could find no fresh water upon it, but one standing puddle of bad water. It hath four great mountains upon the four corners of it. Here the Frenchmen (as it seemeth being overcome with drink, having been aboard our general at a feast) being on shore, one of the gentlemen of their company was slain, and their chief captain sorely wounded; by reason whereof, and of the setting together of a pinnace which they were about, the French admiral and the caravel stayed behind. So we in the Wat, and the other six ships weighed February 10th, and stood away for the isle of Mayo. This night the other two French ships that came from Sal with us (as it seemeth of purpose, because their consorts were not with them) lost us. The next morning we saw Mayo. So we and the fly-boat of Dartmouth compassed the northermost part

of the island, and Mr. Benjamin Wood in the China fleet the southermost, and came all to an anchor together at the south-west part thereof; where rode six sail of Flemings loading salt, who had brought their horses and carts, and wheel-barrows, and planks for their barrows to run upon. Here is abundance of salt in this island made by God's hand without man's labour. These told us that there were thirty sail more, which fell to leeward of Fogo, who, as I heard since, beat it up with much ado, and came thither also for salt. This trade may be very beneficial to England, considering the dearness of salt. Of goats on this island there is such store, as is incredible but to those who have seen them; and it is a wonder how they live one by the other, the ground being stony and barren. It is thought that there are dwelling in it some twenty mountaineers, which got one of the Flemings' men straggling; and God knoweth what they did with him, for they saw him no more. This island is somewhat low and round, having no great mountains upon it.

'Here ended our determination concerning the invading of Fogo. And here we left the fly-boat of Dartmouth loading salt, and the China fleet to refresh themselves with goats, who, as I have heard since, had at the village (from whence the mountaineers were fled into the farthest parts of the island and rocks) great store of dried goats which they carried along with them; which were like to be a great help unto them in their long voyage. So, upon Saturday February 12th, at night we set sail, and stood for the coast of Guiana, which we were bound for.

'Upon Sunday February 20th, we came into the main current that setteth from the cape of Buena Esperança along the coast of Brasil, and so toward the West Indies, for the most part setting away north west.

'The Tuesday night following, whereas before our course was W. S. W. we stood away west and by south; by reason whereof, and of the current that set us to the northward, we

were the next day by noon twenty minutes farther to the northward than the day before. So that then we lay away S. W. because we were loath to fall to the northward of our place intended; which, if we should be put to leeward of, there was small hope left to recover it.

'By Thursday, we were within one degree and a half of the equinoctial line; therefore this day we hauled away west and by south, and west. This night we sounded, but had no ground at 90 fathoms. The next day in the morning the colour of the water began to change, and to be more white, so we made another sound, and had ground at thirty fathoms, but saw no land, and in the afternoon we hauled away W. N. W. N. W. and N. N. W. In the night we sounded divers times, and had twelve, ten, and nine fathoms water.

'All Saturday we had a thick red water, and had seven and eight fathoms both day and night, and upon Sunday morning by day, being February 27th, we made the land which appeared low, and trended nearest as we fell with it south and by east, north and by west about two degrees and a half toward the north. Right on head of us was a cape or headland, so that had we been shot a little farther into the bay, the wind being more northerly, we should hardly have doubled it off. For with much ado, making many boards, and stopping every tide, it was the Tuesday following before we cleared ourselves of the bay, and recovered the cape. Now the land trendeth north west and by north, and south east and by south. And still we were fain to anchor every tide, sometimes in four fathoms, and sometimes in three, as far as we could see land. So about night we saw Cape Cecil, and, after some two hours, came to an anchor. Between these two capes the land lieth low and even.

'Upon Wednesday morning, having the wind large at E. N. E. we laid it away upon a board into the bay of Wispoucqu, and came to an anchor in the river's mouth in two fathoms; over the bar there is little water, as six and seven

foot, and less in many places. And this river of Winpenicon standeth almost in four degrees to the northward of the line.

'The next morning we weighed, and standing in with our pinnace by night, we got some eight leagues up the river. This day sometimes we had but five foot water, and drew seven foot, but being soft ooze we went clear; and a little before we came to anchor, we were on ground upon a rock, but with some trouble and labour we got off and had no hurt.

'Upon Friday March 4th, toward night, we came to the falls. The next day Mr. Leonard Bernie, our captain, the master, myself, and some five more, went through the woods, and spent all the day in searching the head of the falls, but could not find it; for though we passed by many, yet were there more still, one above the other. So that finding no Indians in this river to buy victuals of, neither any kind of thing that might entice us to come to so short allowance as we must have done, if we had spent any long time here, finding it overhard to pass the falls, we fell down the river again, and by Friday, March 11th, we cleared ourselves of the river and bay. This river, from the mouth to the falls, is some sixteen leagues, in many places a mile over, but for the most part half a mile. There are many islands in it, as are also in most of the rivers upon the coast. This night we anchored against Cape in two fathoms; whereinto we thought to have put with our pinnace, but found the water so shoal, and the sea so grown, that neither with our ship nor shallop we durst go in.

'On Saturday by noon we came to anchor under one of the seven islands; upon which going on shore, we found neither man nor beast, but great store of yellow plums which are good to eat.

'Upon Sunday after dinner, our master William Dowle, and six more, went off with our boat to a town called Aramatto, where they found many inhabitants, and brought victuals and some tobacco with them, and one Indian named Capeina, who lying aboard all night, the next day, being Monday,

March 14th, went with our captain into Wias, and there traded with the Caribes for such things as they had. And afterward they of Aramatto came off with their canoes to us, and we went on shore to them; and from thence our captain sent a canoe with seven men, who had every one of them a knife, to go back to the river of Cawo, and so tell Ritimo, captain of that place, that because we could not come to him, we would stay at Chiana for him, whither we intreated him to come to us. So upon Thursday the 17th we stood in for Chiana, and came to an anchor without in the bay in three fathoms that night; and had the Caribes coming continually to us with their canoes, which brought us great store of victuals and some tobacco, shewing themselves very kind and loving, and came all from their towns and dwelt on shore by us until Ritimo came; at whose coming they returned all up to their towns again, which was upon the Sunday following. All this day we feasted him and his train, and the next day we trafficked with them for such things as they brought, which was principally tobacco.

'After that they had made known their minds of the desire that they had to have the English come and kill the Spaniards, and to dwell in Oronoko and in the country, they departed with their three canoes the next day. And we with the help of the Caribes of Chiana, having by their means from the shore watered, because the river's mouth was salt, departed out of the bay the Thursday following, and passing by Macerea, Couroura, and Manamanora, by reason of shoals, rocks, and great winds, being a lee-shore, and for want of a good shallop, we came to an anchor the next day, being Good-friday, in five fathoms, near the Triangle islands, called the Careres. And upon Saturday, standing to the westward, we stopped against the town of Mawarie, which is a little to the westward of the town Commamo; from whence, and from the other towns in that bay, which are some six or seven, we had canoes come off to us as before with such things as they

had themselves in use, with parrots, monkies, and cotton-wool and flax. From whence we departed upon Monday following, March 28, 1597.

'And passing by the rivers of Euracco and Amana, which openeth but a small river, and is shoaled off, we came to Marawinne the next day, and finding a channel of three, four, and five fathoms, we stood into the river; and the same day came to an anchor some two leagues in against the mouth of Cooshepwinne, which river goeth into Amana. Into which, (understanding that there were Arwaccawes dwelling), this night we sent our boat, and came to a town called Marrac, one league in; and finding the people something pleasant, having drunk much that day, being as it seemed a festival day with them, yet were they very fearful and ready to run away at the first sight of us, having seldom seen any Christian before. But as soon as Henry our Indian interpreter had told them who we were, and our intent, they came to us and used us kindly, and brought us victuals and other things. And the next day their captain Mawewiron came out into Marawinne, with divers canoes, and traded with us, and we went in again to them on shore, who made very much of us, and carried us from house to house, and made us eat and drink in every house which we came in. And the next day following, being the last of March, having the captain of Marrac with us, we weighed and stood into the river, and about two of the clock in the afternoon came to an anchor some eight leagues within the river, a little short of a town called Quiparia, the people whereof are Caribes; who, when they saw us come toward their town with our boat, began all to run into the woods, until the captain of Marrac who was with us in the boat, leaped overboard and swam on shore unto them, and told them that we were Englishmen, and came in friendship to trade with them.

'Upon whose report, they came before night six or seven canoes aboard us, yet very fearful, because there was never

either ship or Christian seen in that river before. April 1st, we weighed again, and stood in to the next town, called Macirria, where coming to anchor, there came a canoe from Amana to us, with great store of victuals, which canoe we bought. And because we met with some shoals, we were loath to go any farther with our pinnace, so there we moored her, and the next day at three of the clock in the afternoon, eleven of us, (Mr. Monax having the government of the action, by the captain's appointment), with Mawerirou, Henry, and William of Cawo, in the canoe which we bought, went into the river farther to search it so far as we could, and that night got some five leagues from our ship. And between two villages, Awodwair and Mapeributto, we took up our lodging in the woods. April 3d, betimes in the morning, we took our course still unto the river, and in the afternoon came to one house where we found many Indians, where we hired another canoe and four Indians, into the which I went, and one more of our men, and this night got twelve leagues farther, and, as before, lodged among the wild beasts.

'On Monday, April 4th, we came to the falls of this river, about two in the afternoon, and having shot up some of the rocks, we went on shore upon an island, and there conferred of our farther proceeding. And inquiring of the Indians that we hired for our pilots of the last house, whether the falls were passable or not, their first answer was, that they had nothing to eat. But we, being loath to lose so much labour, and the sight of that upper rich country which we desired, told them that they should have victuals of us, (though God knoweth we had none for ourselves) who, seeing us so importunate, said farther, that the rocks would kill the canoes, which they said, because indeed, they had no victuals; which by some was taken for sufficient to proceed no farther, and so we left off, and only staid some two hours upon the island, and with the swiftness of the current, fell that night down ten leagues again. Though I for mine own part offered in that

small cahoe that I was in, being so leaky that myself did nothing but lave out the water, to lead them the way, and if they saw any danger to me, they might choose whether they would come into it or not themselves. For seeing the country above was rich as we were informed, that their bows were handled with gold, (being men of an extraordinary stature for tallness) we should have taken the more pains, and have fared the harder, until we had gotten up in the country which we saw with our eyes. For though we had not victuals in any sort to carry us up, yet the woods do yield fruits, and the palmito trees afford meat, whereby we might have made shift to live, until we had come to the inhabitants, by whom we might both be refreshed with victuals, and also have reaped that which might have done us good as long as we had lived.

'But to return to the rest of our voyage. The day after we went from the falls, we came to our ship, which was April 5th, 1597. On Wednesday we fell with our pinnace to Quiparia again; where we brought her on ground right before the town, and trimmed her with the pitch of the country. And until we had done kept a corps-du-guard night and day on shore, which was upon Saturday following April 9th. All the while we were there we had an house of the Caribes, and were kindly used of them, and had victuals, and every thing we needed of them. And so taking our leave on Tuesday, being April 12th, we came to the mouth of Cassewinne, where the Arwaccas of Marrac, and of the river, had provided and brought to us such infinite store of potatoes, and Guinea wheat, that the steward said we had no stowage for them. And so they were turned back, and we by that means came to shorter allowance homeward bound, than (if there had been any good care) we needed to have done.

'On Friday, April 15th, we put forth of Marawinne, which is some four leagues over, and within one league and a half for the most part broad, full of islands, and divers small rivers running into it. And it is between forty and fifty leagues,

From the mouth to the falls, and lieth for the most part S. S. W. up, altering some three points, being almost strait. And standing along to the westward, this night we tried with our main course and bonnet. On Saturday night we came to an anchor, in three fathoms against Sewramo. On Sunday morning we thought to have gone into Cuppanamo; but sending off our boat and finding uncertain sounding, sometime three fathoms and presently nine foot, we stood along to Coritine and came into it upon the Monday being the 18th of April; and the next night we came to anchor against Warawalle in ten fathoms. On Wednesday the Indians of the town having hunted a doe, she took soil and came near our ship, and putting off with our boat we took her, being like unto our deer in England, not altogether so fat, but very good flesh, and great bodied. In this river we met a bark, called the John of London, Captain Leigh being in her. And being both fallen down within some five leagues of the mouth of the river, upon intelligence that one Marracon, (whom we brought along with us) gave us, namely, that the river Desekebe, in which he dwelt, (and wherein there were some 900 Spaniards, who for the most part now are destroyed and dead), doth lead so far into the country, that it cometh within a day's journey of the lake called Parima, whereupon Manoa is supposed to stand; and that this river of Coritine doth meet with Desekebe up in the land; by means whereof we made account to go up into the country, and to have discovered a passage unto that rich city; so having concluded, both ships, we stood up into the river again, and coming to Warawalle April 24th, there our ships rode until we went up to Mawranano to speak with Marracon, to know the truth of these things. Whom when we had found, he verified all that before he had spoken, Mr. Monax being the man that of Leonard of Cawe took all the intelligence, who, being brought up with Antonio Berreo, could some Spanish and Marracons' language also. And beside, we ourselves, by signs, and

drawing the two rivers on the ground, and the meeting of them aloft, did perceive as much.

'Now coming down with our boats April 26th, we went up with our ships to Mawranama, where we moored them, and taking some twenty out of both, upon Thursday the 28th in the afternoon, with two shallops and two canoes, in one of which Henry the Indian was, and some twenty Indians more, we went up the river; and by night getting some three leagues farther, we lodged in the woods, and the next morning we with our boat and the two canoes went into a small river called Tapuere, to a town called Macharibi, thinking to have had cassavi and other victuals, which they were altogether unprovided of, by reason that they make no more ready than serveth themselves from hand to mouth, living in this town for the most part by fish. By means of going into this river, though we rowed very hard, it was noon before we overtook the bigger shallop, wherein both the captains were. This night we came to a town called Vaperon, where we staid all Saturday and the night following for cassavi, whereof they baked good store for us, being but a few left in the town. For not a month before we came thither, the Waccawes that dwell above the falls came down to the town, and slew some ten of them, and many of the rest fled away, so that we found most of the houses empty. Upon Sunday morning, being May-day, we went from this place, and by night got some twelve leagues beyond; and being past all towns, we lodged as before in the woods, and the next day came to the falls of the river, up some of which falls we shot with our boats, and going upon a rock, there came some nine canoes up the river to us, and would have gone up with us to kill the Waccawayans, because they had killed some of them, as before is said. Whereupon the captains and Mr. Monax took advice. And because now they had learned, as they said, that five days' journey farther there was a fall not passable, and that by this means they should make the Waccawayans

their enemies, which would turn to our great hurt when Sir Walter Ralegh should come thither, having occasion to use this river where we were informed was good store of gold, they resolved to return, though I yielded divers reasons to the contrary. So, upon Tuesday night, we came back to Vaperon, where we lodged.

'And upon Wednesday, May 4th, we came to our ships, where it was reported that the Spaniards were gone out of Desekebe, which was not so; but as it seemed in policy by them given out to make our men that we left in our ships more careless, that they might the easier have surprised them in our absence. The next night we had news brought us to Mawranamo, where we yet rode, that there were ten canoes of Spaniards in the mouth of Coritine; and fearing lest they had intended to come to us in the night, we fitted all our guns and muskets, and kept good watch to prevent them of their purpose, who, as it was afterward told us, went along the coast to buy bread and other victuals for them in Oronoko, Marowgo, and Desekebe. Upon Friday, May 6th, we weighed and made down the river, and upon Sunday the 8th we got clear of it. This river is much like unto Morawynne in breadth, and about fifty leagues from the mouth to the first falls, full of islands as the other; in which are three rivers, Mano, Tapuere, and Tabuebbi, otherwise Tapuellibi; with six towns, Warrawalle, Mawranamo, Maapuere, Maccharibi, Yohóron, and Vapéron. And so clearing ourselves of this coast, we took our course to the islands of the West Indies.

'Now I think it not amiss to speak something of this country. And first touching the climate. Though it stand within the tropic, and something near to the equinoctial, so that the sun is twice a-year over their heads, and never far from them, yet it is temperate enough in those parts. For, beside that we lost not a man upon the coast, one that was sick before he came there, was nothing sicker for being there, but came home safe, thanks be to God. And for mine own part, I was never bet-

ter in body all my life, and in like sort fared it with the rest of the company; for indeed it is not so extreme hot as many imagine. The people in all the lower parts of the country go naked, both men and women, being of several languages, very tractable and ingenious, and very loving and kind to Englishmen generally, as by experience we found, and upon our knowledge do report. In the upper countries they go apparelled, being, as it seemeth, of a more civil disposition, having great store of gold, as we are certainly informed by the lower Indians, of whom we had some gold, which they brought and bought in the high country of Wiana, being able to buy no more, because they wanted the things which now we have left among them. They keep no order of marriage, but have as many wives as they can buy, or win by force of their enemies, which principally is the cause of all their wars. For bread there is infinite store of cassavi, which is as good bread as a man need to eat, and better than we can carry any thither. We spent not a bit of our own all the while we were upon the coast. It is made of a root so called, which they take and scrape, and crush all the juice out, being poison; and when it is dry it is as fine flour as our white meal maketh. Which, dry as it is, without any moisture, they strew upon a round stone, having a still fire under it, and so it congealeth to a cake; and when it cometh new off, it eateth like to our new white bread. Beside, there is great store of Guinea wheat, whereof they make passing good drink, which, after it is once sowed, if you cut off the ear, on the same stalk groweth another.

'For victuals, we either did not, or at least needed not to have spent any of our own; for there is great store of as good fish in the rivers, as any is in the world. Great store of fowl of divers sorts, tortoise-flesh plentiful, and tortoises' eggs innumerable. Deer, swine, conies, hares, cocks and hens, with potatoes more than we could spend. Beside, all kind of fruits

at all times of the year; and the rarest fruits of the world, the pine, the plantain, with infinite other variable and pleasant, growing to their hands, without planting or dressing. For commodities, though we had but small time to search, because we spent so much time in searching the rivers, yet we have brought examples of some which the country yieldeth in great plenty; as a kind of long hemp like unto steel hemp, fine cotton wool which the trees yield great store of, and wherewith the women make a fine thread, which will make excellent good fustains or stockings. Great store of pitch, divers sorts of sweet gums and West Indian pepper, balsamum, parrots, and monkies. Beside divers other commodities, which in good time may be found out to the benefit of our country and profit of the adventurers, who as yet, having ventured much have gained little.

'Now leaving the river of Coritine, passing by S^t. Vincent, Santa Lucia, and Matalina, we came to Dominica upon the Friday following, being May 13^th, having lost the bark that came out with us the Wednesday before. Upon Sunday morning, May 15^th, we came to Guadaloupe, where we watered at the southern part of the island; and having done by night, we set sail, and stood away to the northward, but were becalmed all night, and until ten of the clock on Monday night; at which time, having a fair gale at east, and after at south-east, we passed along in the sight of Monserat, Antigua, and Barbuda. Upon June 9^th, being Thursday, we made the islands of Flores and Corvo; and June 28^th, we made the Lizard, and that night came all safe to Plymouth, blessed be God!

'Between the isle of Barbuda in the West Indies, and England, we had three mighty storms, many calms, and some contrary winds. And upon June 14^th, 1597, there being divers whales playing about our pinnace, one of them crossed our stem, and going under rubbed her back against our keel; but

by none of all these we sustained any loss, thanks be to him that governeth all things!'

*Written by* Mr. Thomas Masham.

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## N°. XII.

### CONCESSIO PRO WALTERO RALEGH MILITE OFFICII GUBERNATORIS ET CAPITANEI INSULÆ DE JERSEY.

[From Rymer's Fœdera, XVI. 398.]

'Regina omnibus, ad quos, &c. Salutem.

'Sciatis quòd nos,

'Tam pro et in consideratione boni et fidelis servitii, per dilectum et fidelem servientum nostrum Walterum Ralegh militem nobis antehanc impensi et inposterum impendendi, quàm pro diversis aliis causis et considerationibus nos ad præsens specialiter moventibus,

'De gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, dedimus et concessimus, ac per præsentes, pro nobis hæredibus et successoribus nostris, damus et concedimus eidem Waltero Ralegh officium Gubernatoris et Capitanei *Insulæ nostræ de Jersey et Castri nostri de Gurry aliàs de Mountorgyll*, unà cum omnibus talibus vadiis feodis messuagiis terris tenementis redditibus reventionibus servitiis jurisdictionibus auctoritatibus privilegiis commoditatibus ac proficuis quibuscumque, eidem officio debitis sive consuetis, ratione vel prætextu dicti officii perceptis habitis usitatis vel receptis, qualia Amicius Pawlet pater vel Antonius Pawlet filius milites jam defuncti, nuper

gubernatores et capitanei insulæ prædictæ, aut aliquis alius, gubernator sive capitaneus in officio prædicto habuit sive percepit, habuerunt seu perceperunt, seu habere percipere aut gaudere debuerunt, aut aliquis eorum debuit, unà cum omnibus aliis feodis redditibus proficuis juribus commoditatibus et emolumentis quibuscumque eidem officio quovismodo pertinentibus sive spectantibus, ac præfatum Walterum Ralegh CUSTODEM GUBERNATOREM et CAPITANEUM eorundem insulæ et castri, per has literas nostras patentes, facimus ordinamus et constituimus; quod quidem officium in manibus et dispositione nostris existit ratione mortis prædicti Antonii Pawlet;

Habendum gaudendum excercendum occupandum tenendum, et possidendum officium prædictum, et cætera præmissa cum pertinentiis, præfato Waltero Ralegh per seipsum, vel per sufficientem deputatum suum sive per sufficientes deputatos suos, pro termino vitæ ejusdem Walteri, ac habendum gaudendum et annuatim percipiendum in et pro officio prædicto prædicta vadia feoda mesuagia terras tenementa redditus reventiones commoditates et proficua, tam per manus suas proprias, quam per manus firmariorum et tenentium nostrorum insulæ prædictæ.

Ac de abundantiori gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, damus et concedimus præfato Waltero manerium sive dominium nostrum vocatum Saint Germayne alias manerium sive dominum de Saint Germain infra insulam prædictam, cum omnibus mesuagiis terris tenementis pratis pascuis redditibus reventionibus, et cæteris hæreditamentis commoditatibus et proficuis quibuscumque, cum suis pertinentiis dicto manerio spectantibus sive pertinentibus, per quodcumque nomen censeatur sive reputetur, ac omnia mesuagia terras tenementa redditus reventiones proficua et hæreditamenta nostra quæcumque, quondam parcella, sive pertinentia aut quoquomodo spectantia nuper Prioratui de le Islet de Saint Hillier in dicta insula, unà cum omnibus advocationibus ecclesiarum

et aliorum ecclesiasticorum beneficiorum quorumcumque, nobis infra insulam prædictam spectantibus sive pertinentibus;

'Habendum gaudendum et tenendum manerium sive dominium prædictum cum pertinentiis, ac omnia prædicta messagia terras tenementa redditus reventiones proficua et hæreditamenta quæcumque; quondam parcella, sive pertinentia aut quoquomodo spectantia dicto nuper Principatui de Isleț unà cum omnibus prædictis advocationibus ecclesiarum et aliorum ecclesiasticorum beneficiorum quorumçumque, nobis infra insulam prædictam spectantibus sive pertinentibus, præfato Waltero Ralegh pro et durante termino vitæ naturalis ipsius Walteri.

'Damus etiam, et de ulteriori gratia nostra, certa scientia et mero motu nostris, pro nobis hæredibus et successoribus nostris, concedimus præfato Waltero Ralegh, tam omnia et singula proficua exitus reventiones et emolumenta sigilli nostri insulæ prædictæ, et venditiones omnium terrarum ejusdem insulæ, quam guardiam terrarum et maritagiorum, et cætera proficua commoditates et revensiones omnium tenentium nostrorum in insula prædicta infra ætatem existentium et essend. cum et quandocumque nobis vel ad manus nostras hæredum vel successorum nostrorum acciderint vel spectare debuerint.

'Habenda gaudenda et tenenda præfato Waltero Ralegh et assignatis suis, pro termino vitæ naturalis ipsius Walteri;

'Damus etiam, et per præsentes, pro nobis hæredibus et successoribus nostris, concedimus præfato Waltero, quòd ipse idem Walterus et deputati sui habeant et habere debeant plenam potestatem et auctoritatem recipere homagium fidelitatem et ligeum quorumcumque hominum et tenentium, infra insulam prædictam commorantium et in posterum commorandorum, et salvos conductiones et salvas gardias quibuscumque mercatoribus, illuc causâ mercandizandi confluentibus, dare et concedere, necnon constituere facere et deputare omnes et singulos officiarios in prædicta insula necessarios et consuetos, ac etiam concedere eis et eorum cuilibet vadia feoda et regarda in illa parte debita et consueta, habenda et annuatim percipienda

pro termino vitæ suæ de exitibus proficuis commoditatibus et reventionibus prædictis, cæteraque omnia et singula facere quæ pro bono et salvo regimine dictæ insulæ et castri nostri prædictorum necessaria fuerint seu quomodolibet oportuna, quodque ipse idem Walterus et deputati sui, omnia reditus reventiones et proficua quæcumque, nobis infra insulam prædictam qualitercumque pertinentia spectantia sive crescentia, tenere habere colligere et percipere valeant et valeat, custodiant et custodiat, et ea omnia unà cum vadiis et feodis, ac aliis in hac parte debitis sive incumbentibus, ac ulteriùs vadia et feoda officiariorum nostrorum hæredum et successorum nostrorum, ac alia necessaria pro salva custodia munitione et tuitione insulæ et castri prædictorum omninò ad usum ipsius Walteri Ralegh, pro et durante vitâ naturali ipsius Walteri, recipere convertere retinere et habere valeant et valeat, a tempore mortis prædicti Antonii Pawlet, absque computo seu aliquo alio proinde nobis hæredibus vel successoribus nostris quoquomodo reddendo solvendo vel faciendo;

'Volumus nihilominus, et per præsentes reservamus nobis hæredibus et successoribus nostris, durante totâ vitâ ipsius Walteri, pro et ex custumis dictæ insulæ reventionibus proficuis et emolumentis, cæterisque omnibus et singulis præmissis præconcessis, annualem redditum *trecentacum librarum* legalis monetæ Angliæ, solvendum annuatim per præfatum Walterum Ralegh nobis hæredibus et successoribus nostris, ad duos anni terminos usuales; videlicet, ad festa Sancti Michaelis Archangeli et Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis per æquales portiones, ad receptam scaccarii nostri hæredum et successorum nostrorum; proviso semper quòd si prædictus annualis redditus aut aliqua inde parcella, nobis hæredibus et successoribus nostris per præsentes reservatus, a retro fuerit et insolutus, in parte vel in toto, per spacium quadraginta dierum post aliquod festum festorum prædictorum in quo solvi debeat, tunc quotiescunque Thesaurarius noster Angliæ, vel Subthesaurarius Scaccarii nostri prædicti pro tempore existentes aut eorum ali-

quis, notitiam inde dederint vel dederit dicto Waltero aut suo deputato prædicto, si prædictus annualis redditus, aut aliquæ inde parcellæ, nobis hæredibus et successoribus nostris a retro fuerit et insolutus, per spatium triginta dierum post aliquam notitiam sic ut præfertur datam, extunc hæ literæ nostræ patentes, et omnes auctoritates jurisdictiones res et concessiones in eisdem contentæ, vacuæ erunt et nullius in lege vigoris, aliquo in præsentibus non obstantibus.

'Eo quòd expressa mentio, &c.

'In cujus rei, &c.

'Teste Regina apud Westmonasterium vicesimo sexto die Augusti.

*Per ipsam Reginam.*

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## N°. XIII.

### A BRIEF RELATION OF SIR WALTER RALEGH'S TROUBLES, WITH THE TAKING AWAY THE LANDS AND CASTLE OF SHERBORNE, IN DORSET, FROM HIM AND HIS HEIRS, BEING HIS INDUBITABLE INHERITANCE.

[Published in 4to, 1669, and reprinted in Birch's Works of Ralegh, I. cxiv.]

'*To the right honourable the Commons of England assembled in parliament, the humble petition of Carew Ralegh, Esq. only son of Sir Walter Ralegh, late deceased.*

'Humbly sheweth,

'That whereas your petitioner conceiveth that his late father, Sir Walter Ralegh, was most unjustly and illegally condemned and executed, and his lands and castle of Sherborne

wrongfully taken from him and his, as may more at large appear by this brief narrative hereunto annexed, the particulars whereof your petitioner is upon due proofs ready to make good; your petitioner therefore humbly submitting to the great justice and integrity of this house (which is noway more manifested than by relieving the oppressed) humbly craveth, that he may receive such satisfaction for these his great oppressions and losses, as to the wisdom and clemency of this honourable house shall seem fit,

And your petitioner shall humbly pray, &c.

'When King James came into England, he found Sir Walter Ralegh, by the favour of his late mistress, Queen Elizabeth, lord-warden of the Stannaries, lord-lieutenant of Devonshire and Cornwall, captain of the guard, and governor of the isle of Jersey; with a large possession of lands both in England and Ireland. The king for some weeks used him with great kindness, and was pleased to acknowledge divers presents which he had received from him being in Scotland, for which he gave him thanks. But finding him (as he said himself) a martial man, addicted to foreign affairs and great actions, he feared lest he should engage him in a war, a thing most hated, and contrary to the king's nature. Wherefore he began to look upon him with a jealous eye, especially after he had presented him with a book, wherein, with great animosity, he opposed the peace with Spain, then in treaty, persuading the king rather vigorously to prosecute the war with that prince then in hand; promising, and that with great probability, within few years to reduce the West Indies to his obedience. But Sir Walter Ralegh's enemies, soon discovering the king's humour, resolved at once to rid the king of this doubt and trouble, and to enrich themselves with the lands and offices of Sir Walter Ralegh. Wherefore they plotted to accuse him, and the Lord Cobham, a simple passionate man, but of a very noble birth and great possessions, of high-treason. The par-

ticulars of their accusation I am utterly ignorant of, and I think all men both then and now living; only I find in general terms, they were accused of plotting with the Spaniard, to bring in a foreign army and proclaim the infanta of Spain queen of England; but without any proofs, and the thing itself as ridiculous as impossible.

'However, Sir Walter Ralegh was condemned without any witness brought in against him, and the Lord Cobham, who was pretended to have accused him barely in a letter, in another letter to Sir Walter Ralegh, upon his salvation, cleared him of all treason or treasonable actions, either against king or state, to his knowledge; which original letter is now in the hands of Mr. Carew Ralegh, son of Sir Walter, to be produced at any time. Upon this condemnation, all his lands and offices were seized, and himself committed close prisoner to the Tower. But they found his castle of Sherborne and the lands thereunto belonging, to be long before entailed on his children; so that he could not forfeit it but during his own life. And the king, finding in himself the iniquity of Sir Walter's condemnation, gave him all what he had forfeited again, but still kept him close prisoner. Seven years after his imprisonment, he enjoyed Sherborne; at which time it fell out, that one Mr. Robert Car, a young Scotch gentleman, grew in great favour with the king; and having no fortune, they contrived to lay the foundation of his future greatness upon the ruins of Sir Walter Ralegh. Whereupon they called the conveyance of Sherborne in question in the exchequer-chamber, and for want of one single word (which word was found notwithstanding in the paper-book, and was only the oversight of a clerk) they pronounced the conveyance invalid, and Sherborne forfeited to the crown; a judgment easily to be foreseen without witchcraft, since his chiefest judge was his greatest enemy, and the case argued between a poor friendless prisoner and a king of England.

'Thus was Sherborne given to Sir Robert Car, after earl

of Somerset. The Lady Ralegh* with her children, humbly and earnestly petitioning the king for compassion on her and her's, could obtain no other answer from him, but that *he mun have the land, he mun have it for Car.* She being a woman of a very high spirit, and noble birth and breeding, fell down upon her knees, with her hands heaved up to Heaven, and in the bitterness of spirit beseeched God Almighty to look upon the justness of her cause, and punish those who had so wrongfully exposed her and her poor children, to ruin and beggary. What hath happened since to that royal family, is too sad and disastrous for me to repeat, and yet too visible not be discerned.

'But to proceed.—Prince Henry, hearing the king had given Sherborne to Sir Robert Car, came with some anger to his father, desiring he would be pleased to bestow Sherborne upon him, alleging that it was a place of great strength and beauty, which he much liked, but, indeed, with an intention to give it back to Sir Walter Ralegh, whom he much esteemed. The king, who was unwilling to refuse any of that prince's desires (for indeed, they were most commonly delivered in such language, as sounded rather like a demand than an intreaty) granted his request; and to satisfy his favourite, gave him £25,000 in money, so far was the king or crown from gaining by this purchase. But that excellent prince, within a few months was taken away; how, and by what means, is suspected by all, and I fear was then too well known by many. After his death, the king gave Sherborne again to Sir Robert Car, who, not many years after, by the name of earl of Somerset, was arraigned and condemned for poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury, and lost all his lands. Then Sir John Digby, now earl of Bristol, begged Sherborne of the king, and had it.

* She was the only daughter of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who was arraigned in Queen Mary's time and acquitted. See Fox's Acts and Monuments.

'Sir Walter Ralegh, being of a vigorous constitution and of perfect health, had now worn out thirteen years imprisonment, and had seen the disastrous end of all his greatest enemies. So that new persons and new interests now springing up in court, he found means to obtain his liberty; but upon condition to go a voyage to Guiana, in discovery of a gold mine. That unhappy voyage is well known almost to all men, and how he was betrayed from the very beginning, his letters and designs being discovered to Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, whereby he found such opposition upon the place, that though he took and fired the town of S^t. Thome, yet he lost his eldest son in that service; and being desperately sick himself, was made frustrate of all his hopes.

'Immediately upon his return home, he was made prisoner, and by the violent pursuit of Gondomar and some others, who could not think their estates safe while his head was upon his shoulders, the king resolved to take advantage of his former condemnation fifteen years past, being not able to take away his life for any new action. And, though he had given him a commission under the broad-seal to execute martial law upon his own soldiers, which was conceived, by the best lawyers, a full pardon for any offence committed before that time, without any farther trouble of the law, cut off his head.

'Here justice was indeed blind, blindly executing one and the same person upon one and the same condemnation, for things contradictory; for Sir Walter Ralegh was condemned for being a friend to the Spaniard, and lost his life for being their utter enemy. Thus kings, when they will do what they please, please not him they should, God; and having made their power subservient to their will, deprive themselves of that just power whereby others are subservient to them.

'To proceed.—Mr. Carew Ralegh, only son of Sir Walter, being at this time a youth of about thirteen, bred at Ox-

ord, after five years came to court; and, by the favour of the right honourable William earl of Pembroke, his noble kinsman, hoped to obtain some redress in his misfortunes. But the king not liking his countenance, said, he appeared to him like the ghost of his father. Whereupon the earl advised him to travel, which he did till the death of King James, which happened about a year after. Then coming over, and a parliament sitting, he, according to the custom of this land, addressed himself to them by petition, to be restored in blood, thereby to enable him to inherit such lands, as might come unto him either as heir to his father, or any other way. But, his petition having been twice read in the Lords' house, King Charles sent Sir James Fullerton (then of the bed-chamber) unto Mr. Ralegh, to command him to come unto him; and, being brought into the king's chamber by the said Sir James, the king, after using him with great civility, notwithstanding told him plainly, that, when he was prince, he had promised the earl of Bristol to secure his title to Sherborne, against the heirs of Sir Walter Ralegh; whereupon the earl had given him, then prince, £10,000; that now he was bound to make good his promise, being king; and therefore, unless he would quit all his right and title to Sherborne, he neither could nor would pass his bill of restoration.

'Mr. Ralegh, urged the justness of his cause; that he desired only the liberty of a subject, and to be left to the law, which was never denied any freeman. Notwithstanding all which allegations, the king was resolute in his denial, and so left him. After which, Sir James Fullerton used many arguments to persuade submission to the king's will; as, the impossibility of contesting with kingly power; the not being restored in blood, which brought along with it so many inconveniencies, that it was not possible without it to possess or enjoy any lands or estate in this kingdom; the not being in a condition, if his cloak were taken from his back, or hat from his head, to sue for restitution. All which things being con-

sidered, together with splendid promises of great preferment in court, and particular favours from the king, not improbable, wrought much in the mind of young Mr. Ralegh, being a person not full twenty years old, left friendless and fortuneless, and prevailed so far, that he submitted to the king's will.

'Whereupon there was an act passed for his restoration, and, together with it, a settlement of Sherborne to the earl of Bristol; and, in shew of some kind of recompence, £400 a-year pension, during his life, granted to Mr. Ralegh after the death of his mother, who had that sum paid unto her, during life, in lieu of jointure.

'Thus have I, with as much brevity, humility, and candour as the nature of the case will permit, related the pressures, force, and injustice committed upon a poor oppressed, though not undeserving,* family; and have forborne to specify the names of those who were instruments of this evil, lest I should be thought to have an inclination to scandalize particular, and, perchance, noble families.

'Upon the consideration of all which, I humbly submit myself to the Commons of England, now represented in parliament; desiring, according to their great wisdom and justice, that they will right me and my posterity, according to their own best liking; having, in my own person, (though bred at court,) never opposed any of their just rights and privileges, and, for the future, being resolved to range myself under the banner of the Commons of England; and, so far forth as education and fatherly instruction can prevail, promise the same for two sons whom God hath sent me.'

* Sir Walter Ralegh discovered Virginia at his own charge, which cost him forty thousand pounds. He was the first, of all the English, that discovered Guiana in the West-Indies. He took the islands of Fayall from the Spaniard, and did most signal and eminent service at the taking of Cadiz. He took from the Spaniard the greatest and richest carrac that ever came into England; another ship likewise, laden with nothing but gold, pearls, and cochineal.

## No. XIV.

DE CONCESSIONE JOHANNI SHELBERY ET ROBERTO SMYTH DE BONIS ET CATALLIS QUÆ FUERUNT WALTERI RALEGH MILITIS ATTINCTI.

[From Rymer's Fœdera, XVI, 569.]

'James, by the grace of God, &c. To the treasurer, chancellor, under-treasurer, and barons of our exchequer, and to all other our officers and ministers of the same court, and to all other our officers, ministers, and subjects, to whom in that behalf it shall or may appertain, greeting.

'Whereas Sir Walter Ralegh, late of Sherborne, in our county of Dorset, knight, was, in Michaelmas term last past arraigned, convicted, and attainted of high treason, at our castle of Winchester, before our commissioners there in that behalf appointed, by means of which conviction and attainder of the said Sir Walter Ralegh, all and singular the goods and chattels, as well real as personal, moveable and immoveable whatsoever, and all and singular, debts, duties, and sums of money, actions personal, and personal advantages, benefits and demands, whatsoever, either by statute merchant, or statute staple, recognizances, judgment, obligation, bond, specialty, writing, contract, or otherwise, whereof he, the said Sir Walter Ralegh, or any other to his use, was possessed at the time of the committing of the said treason, or at any time sithence, or which in right did then or ought to appertain to the said Sir Walter Ralegh, are become forfeited and grown due unto us, and now remain at, and be at our princely disposition and pleasure.

'Now know ye that,

'As well for, and in consideration that all the debts and duties which the said Sir Walter Ralegh did truly and *bonâ fide* owe to any person or persons, by bond or otherwise, before the said attainder and conviction, may be justly and truly paid to such person and persons to whom they be so justly and truly owing, as also for the help and maintenance of Dame Elizabeth Ralegh, now wife of the said Sir Walter, his child and family, and for divers other good causes and considerations, us hereunto especially moving.

'We, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do fully, clearly, and absolutely give and grant, unto our loving subjects, John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, of London, gentlemen, all and singular the said goods and chattels, as well real and personal, moveable and unmoveable, whatsoever, and all and singular debts, duties, sums of money, actions personal, as personal advantages, benefits and demands, whatsoever, either by statute merchant, or statute staple, recognizance, judgment, obligation, bond, specialty, writing, contract, or otherwise, which late were the said Sir Walter Ralegh's, or whereof the said Sir Walter Ralegh, or any other to his use, at the time of the committing of the said treason, or any time since, was possessed, or which in right did then, or ought to appertain to the said Sir Walter Ralegh, and which became due, forfeited, or owing, or is now, or hereafter shall become due, forfeited, or owing unto us, by reason of the said conviction or attainder, of the said Sir Walter Ralegh, by what name or names, or addition of name or names, place or places soever the said Sir Walter Ralegh was indicted, arraigned, convicted, attainted, or known, and which have not heretofore been paid or answered into our court of exchequer; together with all deeds, writings, bonds, and specialties, concerning only the same, or only any part or parcel thereof.

'To have, hold, seize, levy, recover, perceive, receive, take, use, occupy, possess and enjoy, all and singular, the premises before by these presents given and granted, or purposed, meant, or intended to be by us given and granted, and every part or parcel hereof, to the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, their executors, administrators, and assigns, to their only proper and sole use, uses, and behoofs, of our free gift, clearly, and absolutely, without any manner of accompt, reckoning, or recompence to be rendered, yielded, or made to us, our heirs, or successors, of, for, or by reason of the same, or of, for, or by reason of any part, or parcel thereof, and in as large, ample, and beneficial, sort, manner, and form, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, whatsoever, as we, our heirs, or successors, or any of us, do, can, or may at this present, or should, might, or ought to have, hold, occupy, enjoy, leave, receive, perceive, take, or recover the same, or any part, or parcel thereof, by reason or means of the said attainder and conviction of the said Sir Walter Ralegh; and yet upon this trust and confidence, and our express will, commandment, and pleasure is, that all and singular, the debts and duties which the said Sir Walter Ralegh did truly, and *bona fide*, owe to any person or persons, by bond or otherwise, before the said attainder and conviction, be justly and truly answered and paid to such person and persons to whom they be so justly and truly owing.

'And farther know ye, that we, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do give and grant, to the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, their executors, administrators, and assigns, for the better executing of this our grant at all and every time and times hereafter, and for the better getting and obtaining into their hands, all and every such things as hereby are unto them given and granted, full power and authority to inquire and find, or cause to be found and inquired of, by any office

or inquisition, or by any other lawful ways, means, or device whatsoever, such right and title as we now have or ought to have, in or to the premises before by these presents granted, or any part or parcel thereof; and also to take, seize, levy, and recover by them the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, or by any other their ministers, deputies, or assigns, in any place or places whatsoever, the said goods and chattels, real and personal, and other the premises, before by these presents given and granted, and every part thereof, according to the due order and course of our laws; and they the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, their executors, administrators, and assigns, and every of them, shall have full power and authority, by virtue of these presents, at their wills and pleasures, to release, acquit, and discharge all and every person and persons whatsoever, their executors, administrators, and assigns, of the said goods, chattels, and other the premises before by these presents, given and granted, as is aforesaid, or any of them;

'And also, that they the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, their executors, administrators, and assigns, in the name of them the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth in their lifetime, or in the names of their executors, administrators, or assigns, after their deaths, or otherwise, in our name, or in the names of any our heirs, or successors, shall and may sue for and recover the same goods and chattels, and other the premises, by these presents granted, and every of them as is aforesaid, against any person or persons whatsoever, in any of our courts of record, at the will and pleasure of the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, their executors, administrators, or assigns, and every of them, and the same being recovered, levied, or received, to have, take, retain, and enjoy to their own use, uses, and behoofs; for which these our letters patents shall be, as well unto the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, their executors, administrators, and

assigns, as also to our officers to to whom it shall appertain, a sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf.

" And our will and pleasure is, and by these presents we do straightly charge and command, you our said treasurer, chancellor, and barons of our exchequer, and all other our officers and ministers of the same court, that if it happen, at any time or times hereafter, any of the said goods, chattels, and other the premises whatsoever, granted by these presents unto the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, as aforesaid, or any part thereof to be recovered, seized, or paid unto us, our heirs, or successors; at the suits, or in the names of our heirs or successors; that then, and so often, you deliver, or cause to be delivered, the said goods, chattels, and other the premises, before by these presents granted, and every part and parcel thereof, so obtained, recovered and seized, or paid, to the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, their executors, administrators, or assigns, to their own use, uses, and behoofs, and these our letters patents, or the inrolment thereof, shall be unto you our said treasurer, chancellor, and barons of our said exchequer, and to all other our officers and ministers to whom it shall appertain, and to every of you and them, a full and sufficient warrant and discharge for the delivery, payment, and doing of all and singular the premises, according to the tenor, effect, and true meaning of this our grant.

" And our farther will and pleasure is, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do charge and command you, the said treasurer, chancellor, and barons of our said exchequer, and every of you, by virtue hereof, from time to time, to grant, and cause to be made forth of our said court of exchequer, such and so many commissions, and other lawful processes as shall be thought requisite by the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, their executors or assigns, for the lawful finding out, revealing, discovering, trial, recovering, or seizing, of all and singular the said goods, chattels, and other the premises, before by these presents,

granted as aforesaid, and every part thereof; and this our letters patents shall be unto you, our said treasurer, chancellor, and barons of our exchequer, and to all other our officers and ministers, a sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf.

'And to the intent that the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, their executors, administrators, and assigns, may fully and wholly enjoy all and singular the premises before by these presents given and granted, and every part and parcel thereof, according to our good and gracious meaning in that behalf, our will and pleasure is, and we do by these presents grant, for us, our heirs and successors, to the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, their executors, administrators, and assigns, that these our letters patents or the inrolment of the same, and every part, point, article and clause, therein contained, shall be firm, good, effectual, and available in the law against us, our heirs, and successors, as well in all the courts of us, our heirs, and successors, as elsewhere within our realm of England, the not finding of any office or inquisition concerning the premises, whereby our title thereto ought to be found before the making of these presents, or the not naming or not reciting of any person or persons, in whose hands, custody, or possession, the premises or any part thereof are remaining, and being, or of the nature, kind, quantity, or quality, of the premises, or any part thereof, or statute, act of parliament, law, ordinance, proclamation, provision, or restraint, or any other matter, cause, or thing whatsoever to the contrary, in anywise notwithstanding.

'Although express mention, &c.

'In witness whereof, &c.

'Witness ourself at Westminster, the fourteenth day of February.'

## N°. XV.

### CONFECTIO RALEGHANA.

℞. Rasuræ cornu cervi, - - libram i.
*Carnis viperarum cum cordibus & hepatibus,* uncias vi.
Florum boraginis, buglossæ, roris-marini, calendulæ, vetonicæ, coronariæ rubræ, rorissolis, rosarum rubrarum, et sambuci, singulorum libram ½
Herbarum scordii, cardui benedicti, melissæ, dictamni cratici, menthæ, majoranæ, betonicæ, - - - singularum manipulos xii.
Granorum kermes recenter in rob redactorum, cubebarum, cardamomi majoris, baccarum juniperi, maceris, nucis myristicæ, caryophyllorum, croci, - singulorum uncias ii.
Cinnamomi acutissimi, corticis ligni sassafras, flavedinis malorum citriorum & aurantiorum, - - - singulorum uncias iii.
Lignorum aloes et sassafras, uniuscujusque, uncias vi.
Radicum angelicæ, valerianæ, carlinæ, fraxinellæ seu dictamni albi, serpentariæ virginianæ, zedoariæ, termentillæ, bistortæ, aristolochiæ longæ, rotundæ et cavæ, gentianæ et imperatoriæ, - singulorum unciam 1½.

Omnia incisa et grosso modo contusa, in vase idoneo posita, cum spiritu vini rectificato extrahantur secundum artem. Tincturæ filtratæ in extractum mediante, in mariæ balneo, distillatione evaporentur. Magma expressum comburatur; cineres reverberati per aquam elixivientur, unde sal purum lege artis paretur, quod extracto misceatur. His ita peractis, huic extracto adde, ut artis est, pulverem sequentem cæteraque ingredientia.

℞. Lapidum bezoardicorum orientalium et occidentalium verorum, uniuscujusque, } unciam ½.
Magisterii solubilis perlarum orientalium, uncias II.
Magisterii solubilis corellorum rubrorum, uncias III.
Boli orientalis, terræ sigillatæ veræ, *unicornu mineralis*, cornu cervi philosophicè præparati et cornu cervi calcinati, - } singulorum unciam I.
Ambræ griseæ electissimæ in essentiam redactæ, unciam ½.
Moschi orientalis optimi essentificati, - drachmam 1½.
Croci solis cum tinctura antimonii basilii valentini parati, - - - } drachmas II.
Sacchari candisati albi subtilissime pulverisati, libras II.

Ex his omnibus mixtis et ex arte unitis fiat confectio vere regia, quæ ad usum reservetur in pixidibus apprime clausis.

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## N°. XVI.

### A LETTER FROM SIR WALTER RALEGH, TO PRINCE HENRY, TOUCHING THE MODEL OF A SHIP.

[See Dr. Birch's Works of Ralegh, II, 359.]

'Most excellent Prince,

'If the ship your highness intends to build, be bigger than the Victory, then her beams which are laid overthwart from side to side will not serve again, and many other of her timbers, and other stuff, will not serve; whereas, if she be a size less, the timber of the old ship will serve well to the building of a new. If she be bigger, she will be of less use, go very deep to water, and of mighty charge, our channels decaying every year, less nimble, less manageable, and seldom to be used.

*Grande navio grande fatica*, saith the Spaniard. A ship of 600 tons will carry as good ordnance as a ship of 1200 tons, and where the greater hath double her ordnance, the less will turn her broadside twice before the great ship can wind once, and so no advantage in that overplus of guns. The lesser will go over clear, where the greater shall stick and perish; the lesser will come and go, leave or take, and is yare, whereas the greater is slow, unmanable, and ever full of encumber.

'In a well-conditioned ship, these things are chiefly required;—I, That she be strong built; II, Swift in sail; III, Stout sided; IV, That her ports be so laid as that she may carry out her guns all weathers; V, That she hull and try well; VI, That she stay well, when boarding, or turning on a wind is required.

'To make her strong consisteth in the care and truth of the workmen; to make her swift is to give her a large run or way forward, and so afterward, done by art and just proportion, and that in laying out her bows before, and quarters behind, the shipwright be sure that she neither sink nor hang into the water, but lie clear and above it, wherein shipwrights do often fail, and then is the speed in sailing utterly spoiled. That she be stout sided, the same is provided by a long bearing floor, and by sharing off from above water to the lower edge of the ports, which done, then will she carry out her ordnance all weathers. To make her to hull and try well, which is called a good sea ship, there are two things principally to be regarded, the one that she have a good draught of water, the other that she be not overcharged; and this is seldom done in the king's ships, and therefore we are forced to lie, or try in them with our main course and mizen, which with a deep keel and standing streak she would perform.

'The extreme length of a ship makes her unapt to stay, especially if she be floaty, and want sharpness of way forward. And it is most true, that such over-long ships, are fitter for the narrow seas in summer, than for the ocean, or

long voyages; and therefore, 100 feet by the keel, and 35 feet broad, is a good proportion for a great ship. It is to be noted, that all ships sharp before, not having a long floor, will fall rough into the sea from a billow, and take in water over head and ears; and the same quality have all narrow-quartered ships to sink after the tail. The high charging of ships, is that that brings many ill qualities, it makes them extreme leeward, makes them sink deep into the seas, makes them labour sore in foul weather, and oftimes overset. Safety is more to be respected than shows, or niceness for ease; in sea-journeys both cannot well stand together, and therefore the most necessary is to be chosen.

'Two decks and an half is enough, and no building at all above that, but a low master's cabin. Our masters and mariners will say, that the ships will bear more sail enough; and true it is, if none but ordinary mariners served in them. But men of better sort, unused to such a life, cannot so well endure the rolling and tumbling from side to side, where the seas are never so little grown, which comes by high charging. Beside those high-cabin works aloft, are very dangerous in fight, to tear men with their splinters. Above all other things, have care that the great guns be four foot clear above water when all lading is in, or else these best pieces are idle at sea. For if the ports lie lower, and be open, it is dangerous; and by that default was a goodly ship, and many gallant gentlemen lost, in the days of Henry VIII, before the isle of Wight, in a ship called by the name of Mary Rose.'

## N°. XVII.

ORDERS TO BE OBSERVED BY THE COMMANDERS OF THE FLEET AND LAND COMPANIES, UNDER THE CHARGE AND CONDUCT OF SIR WALTER RALEGH, KNIGHT, BOUND FOR THE SOUTH PARTS OF AMERICA, OR ELSEWHERE. GIVEN AT PLYMOUTH, IN DEVON, MAY 3, 1617.

(See News of Sir Walter Ralegh, 4to, 1618, p. 19, and Birch's Works of Ralegh, I, xcvii.)

'First, Because no action nor enterprise can prosper (be it by sea or land) without the favour and assistance of Almighty God, the Lord and strength of hosts and armies, you shall not fail to cause divine service to be read in your ship morning and evening, in the morning before dinner, and at night before supper; or at least (if there be interruption by foul weather) once the day, praising God every night with singing of a psalm at the setting of the watch.

'Secondly, you shall take especial care that God be not blasphemed in your ship, but that after admonition given, if the offenders do not refrain themselves, you shall cause them of the better sort to be fined out of their adventures, by which course, if no amendment be found, you shall acquaint me withal. For if it be threatened in the Scriptures, that *the curse shall not depart from the house of the swearer*, much less from the ship of the swearer.

'Thirdly, no man shall refuse to obey his officer in all that he is commanded, for the benefit of the journey; no man (be-

ing in health) shall refuse to wait his turn as he shall be directed; the sailors by the master and boatswain, the landmen by their captain, lieutenant, and others.

'You shall make in every ship two captains of the watch, who shall make choice of two soldiers every night to search between the decks, that no fire nor candle-light be carried about the ship after the watch set, nor that any candles be burning in any cabin without a lanthorn, and that neither but while they are to make themselves unready. For there is no danger so inevitable as the ship's firing, which may as well happen by taking of tobacco between the decks, and therefore forbidden to all men but aloft the upper deck.

'You shall cause the landmen to learn the names and places of the ropes that they may assist the sailors in their labours upon the decks, though they cannot go up to the tops and yards.

'You shall train and instruct your sailors (so many as shall be found fit) as you do your landmen, and register their names in the lists of your companies, making no difference of professions; but that all be esteemed sailors and all soldiers. For your troops will be very weak when you come to land, without the assistance of your sea-faring men.

'You shall not give chase, or send aboard any ship, but by order from the general. And if you come near any ship in your course, if she be belonging to prince or state in league or amity with his Majesty, you shall not take anything from them by force, upon pain of punishment as a pirate; although in manifest extremity or want, you may (agreeing for the price) relieve yourselves with things necessary, giving bond for the same, provided that it be not to the disfurnishing of any such ship, whereby the owner or merchants be endangered for the ship or goods.

'You shall every night fall a-stern the general's ship, and follow his light, receiving instructions in the morning what course to hold; and if you shall at any time be separated

by foul weather, you shall receive certain billets sealed-up, the first to be opened on this side the North Cape, if there be cause; the second, to be opened at the South Cape; the third, after you shall pass twenty-three degrees; and the fourth from the height of Cape de Verd.

'If you discover any sail at sea, either to windward or to leeward of the admiral, or if any two or three of our fleet shall discover any such sail which the admiral cannot discern, if she be a great ship, and but one, you shall strike your main-top-sail, and hoist it again so often as you shall judge it to be an hundred tons of burden; as if you judge her to be two hundred tons to strike and hoist twice, if three hundred, thrice, and so answerable to her greatness.

'If you discern a small ship, you shall do the like with your fore-top-sail; but if you discover many great ships, you shall not only strike your main-top-sail often, but put out your ensign in the main-top; and if such ships or fleet go large before the wind, you shall also (after your signs given) go large, and stand as any of the fleet doth; I mean no longer than that you may judge the admiral and the rest have seen your signs and your so standing. And if you went large at the time of the discovery, you shall haul aft your sheets for a little time, and then go large again, that the rest may know that you go large, to shew us that the ships or fleet discovered keep that course; so you shall do if the ships or fleet discovered have their tacks aboard, namely, if you had also your tacks aboard at the time of the discovery, you shall bear up for a little time, and after haul your sheet aft again, to shew us what course the ship or fleet holds.

'If you discover any ship or fleet by night, if the ship or fleet be to windward of you, and you to windward of the admiral, you shall presently bear up to give us knowledge; but if you think you might speak with her, then you shall keep your loof, and shoot off a piece of ordnance to give us knowledge thereby.

'For a general rule, let no man presume to shoot off any piece of ordnance but in discovering a ship or fleet by night, or by being in danger of the enemy, or in danger of fire, or in danger of sinking, it may be unto us all a most certain intelligence of some matter of importance, and you shall make us know the difference by this; for if you give chace, and being near a ship, you shoot to make her strike, we shall see and know you shoot to that end (if it be by day), if by night, we shall then know that you have seen a ship or fleet more than our own, and if you suspect we do not hear the first piece, then you may shoot a second, but not otherwise, and you must take almost a quarter of an hour between your two pieces. If you be in danger by a leak, (I mean in present danger) you shall shoot two pieces presently one after another; and if in danger of fire, three pieces presently one after another.

'In foul weather every man shall fit his sails to keep company with the rest of the fleet, and not run so far a-head by day, but that he may fall a-stern the admiral before night. In case we should be set upon by sea, the captain shall appoint sufficient company to assist the gunners, after which, if the fight require it, the cabins between the decks shall be taken down, and all beds and sacks employed for bulwarks; the musketteers of every ship shall be divided under captains, or other officers; some for the fore-castle, others for the waste, the rest for the poop, where they shall abide, if they be not otherwise directed. The gunners shall not shoot any great ordnance at other distance than point-blank. An officer or two shall be appointed to take care that no loose powder be carried between the decks, or near any linstock or match in hand. You shall saw divers hogsheads in two parts, and filled with water, set them aloft the decks. You shall divide your carpenters, some in the hold, if any shot come between wind and water, and the rest between the decks, with plates of lead, plugs, and all things necessary laid by them. You

shall also lay by your tubs of water certain wet blankets to cast upon and choke any fire. The master and boatswain shall appoint a certain number of sailors to every sail, and to every such company a master's-mate, boatswain's-mate, or quarter-master, so as when every man knows his charge and place, things may be done without noise or confusion, and no man to speak but the officers. As for example, if the master or his mate bid heave out the main-top-sail, the master's-mate, boatswain's-mate, or quarter-master, who hath charge of that sail, shall with his company perform it without calling out to others; and so for the fore-sail, fore-top-sail, sprit-sail, and the rest; the boatswain himself taking no particular charge of any sail, but overlooking all, and seeing every one do his duty.

'No man shall board a ship of the enemy without order, because the loss of a ship to us is of more importance than of ten to the enemy; as also by one man's boarding all our fleet may be engaged, it being a great dishonour to lose the least of our fleet. Every ship being under the lee of the enemy, shall labour to recover the wind, if the admiral endeavour it; and we find an enemy to leeward of us, the whole fleet shall follow the admiral, vice-admiral, or other leading ships within musket-shot of the enemy, giving so much liberty to the leading ships after her broadside discovered, as she may stay and trim her sails, then is the second ship to give her side, and the third and fourth, which done they shall all take as the first ship, and giving the enemy the other side, shall keep him under a perpetual volley. Thus must you do to the windermost ship of the enemy, which you shall batter in pieces, or force her to bear up and intangle the rest, falling foul one of another to their great confusion.

'If the admiral give chace and be headmost man, the next ship shall take up his boat, if other order be not given; or if any other ship be appointed to give chace, the next ship, if the chacing ship have a boat at her stern, shall take her up

If any make a ship to strike, he shall not enter her till the admiral come up.

'The musketteers divided into certain quarters of the ship, shall not deliver their shot but at such distances as their commander shall direct them. You shall take a special care for the keeping of the ship clean between the decks, to have your ordnance in order, and not cloyed with trunks and chests. Let those who have provision of victuals deliver it to the steward; and every man put his apparel in canvas cloakbags, except some few chests which do not pester the ship. Every one that useth any weapon of fire, be it musket or other piece shall keep it clean, and if he be not able to amend it, being out of order, he shall presently acquaint his officer therewith, who shall command the armourer to amend it.

'No man shall keep any feasting or drinking between meals, nor drink any healths on the ship's provision. Every captain, by his purser, steward, or other officer, shall take a weekly account how the victuals waste. The steward shall not deliver any candles to any private man, or to any private use.

'Whosoever shall steal from his fellows either apparel or any thing else, shall be punished as a thief; or if any one steal any victuals, either by breaking into the hold, or otherwise, he shall receive the punishment of a thief, and the murderer of his fellows.

'There is no man shall strike any officer, be he captain, lieutenant, ensign, serjeant, corporal of the field, a quartermaster, nor the master of any ship, master's mate, boatswain, or quarter-master; I say, no man shall offer any violence to any of these, but the supreme officer to the inferior, in time of service, upon pain of death. No private man shall strike one another, upon pain of receiving such punishment as a martial court shall think him worthy of.

'No man shall play at cards or dice, either for his apparel or arms, upon pain of being disarmed, and made a swabber.

And whoever shall shew himself a coward upon any landing or otherwise, he shall be disarmed, and made a labourer and carrier of victuals for the rest.

'No man shall land any men in any foreign parts, without order from the general, the serjeant-major, or other chief officer, upon pain of death; and wheresoever we shall have cause to land, no man shall force any woman, be she Christian or heathen, upon pain of death. And you shall take especial care, when God shall suffer us to land in the Indies, not to eat any fruits unknown; such fruits as you do not find eaten by birds on the tree, or beasts under the tree, you shall avoid.

'You shall not sleep on the ground, nor eat any new flesh till it be salted two or three hours, which otherwise will breed a most dangerous flux; so will the eating of over-fat hogs or turkies. You shall also have a great care that you swim not in any rivers but where you see the Indians swim, because most of the rivers are full of alligators. You shall not take any thing from any Indian by force, for from thenceforth we shall never be relieved; but you must use them with all courtesy. And for trading or exchanging with them, it must be done by one or two of every ship for all the rest, and the price to be directed by the cape-merchant, for otherwise all our commodities will be of small price, and greatly to our hindrance.

'For other orders on the land, we will establish them (when God shall send us thither) by general consent. In the meantime I will value every man's honour according to their degree and valour, and taking care for the service of God, and prosperity of our enterprize.

'When the admiral shall hang out a flag or ensign on the mizen shrouds, you shall know it to be a flag of council, to come aboard.'

## N°. XVIII.

### PROCLAMATION CONCERNING SIR WALTER RALEGH, AND HIS VOYAGE TO GUIANA.

(From Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XVII, p. 92.)

'Whereas we gave licence to Sir Walter Raleigh, knight, and others of our subjects with him, to undertake a voyage to the country of Guiana, where they pretended great hopes and probabilities to make discovery of certain gold mines for the lawful enriching of themselves and these our kingdoms, wherein we did, by express limitation and caution, restrain and forbid them, and every of them, from attempting any act of hostility, wrong, or violence, whatsoever, upon any of the territories, states, or subjects of any foreign princes with whom we are in amity, and more peculiarly of those of our dear brother the king of Spain, in respect of his dominions and interests in that continent; all which notwithstanding, we are since informed by a common fame, that they, or some of them, have by an hostile invasion of the town of S^t. Thome, being under the obedience of our said dear brother the king of Spain, and by killing of divers of the inhabitants thereof, his subjects, and after by sacking and burning of the said town, as much as in them for their own parts lay, maliciously broken and infringed the peace and amity which hath been so happily established, and so long inviolably continued between us and the subjects of both our crowns; we have therefore held it fit, as appertaining nearly to our royal justice and honour, eftsoons to make a public declaration of our own utter mislike and de-

testation of the said insolences and excesses (if any such have been by any of our subjects committed); and, for the better detection and clearing of the very truth of the said common fame, we do hereby straightly charge and require all our subjects whatsoever, that have any particular understanding and notice thereof, upon their duty and allegiance which they owe us, immediately after publication of this our pleasure, to repair unto some of our privy council, and to discover and make known unto them their whole knowledge and understanding concerning the same, under pain of our high displeasure and indignation, that we may thereupon proceed in our princely justice, to the exemplary punishment and coercion of all such as be convicted and found guilty of so scandalous and enormous outrages.

'Witness ourself at Westminster 11th day of June.

'*Per ipsum Regem.*'

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## N°. XIX.

### DE WARRANTO SPECIALI PRO DECOLLATIONE WALTERI RALEGH, MILITIS, A. D. 1618.

(From RYMER's Fœdera, Vol. XVII, p. 115.)

'James, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. to our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor, Francis Lord Verulam, our chancellor of England, greeting.

'Whereas Sir Walter Ralegh, knight, late of the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, in the county of Middlesex, with

others, hath been indicted of divers high treasons by him committed against us, and thereupon hath been tried and found guilty of the same, before our dear cousin and counsellor,

'Thomas, earl of Suffolk, then chamberlain of our household,

'Gilbert, late earl of Shrewsbury,

'Charles, late earl of Devon,

'Henry Lord Howard,

'Robert Lord Cecil, of Essingdon, then our principal secretary,

'Edward Lord Wotton, then our comptroller of our household;

'And other our justices of oyer and terminer, at our city of Winchester, in our county of Southampton, concerning treasons and other offences lately assigned; which said Sir Walter Ralegh was, for the same his treasons, by them adjudged to be drawn, hanged, and quartered, according to the laws and customs of this our realm of England in that case provided; which said commission, with the said judgment, indictment, and the trial and proceedings thereupon, were returned and do remain in our said court of pleas, before us to be holden. And although the said Sir Walter Ralegh be adjuded to die as aforesaid; yet we, minding to dispense with that manner of execution of judgment, do, therefore, by these presents, pardon, remit, and release the said Sir Walter Ralegh of and from such execution of his judgment to be drawn, hanged, and quartered as abovesaid, and instead thereof, our pleasure is, to have the head only of the said Sir Walter Ralegh cut-off, at or within our palace of Westminster, in or upon some fit and convenient place or scaffold to be provided in that behalf, and that in such sort and order as in such cases have been heretofore done; the said judgment to be drawn, hanged, and quartered, or any law, or other thing or matter whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. Willing, charging, and hereby expressly commanding you our said chancellor, that upon receipt hereof you do

forthwith direct, under our great seal of England, two several writs, one to the lieutenant of our Tower of London, or his deputy there, for the delivery of the said Sir Walter Ralegh to the sheriff of Middlesex, at or within our said palace of Westminster aforesaid, and another writ to the said sheriff of Middlesex, for the receiving the said Sir Walter Ralegh of and from the hands of our said lieutenant or his deputy, and for the executing of him there, at some fit and convenient place to be there by our said sheriff erected and provided for that purpose, in such manner and form as in such cases hath heretofore been done; and these presents shall be your warrant and discharge for the same against us, our heirs, and successors for ever.

'Witness ourself at Westminster, the 28th day of October.

'*Per Breve de Privato Sigillo.*'

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## N°. XX.

### MR. THOMAS LORKIN TO SIR THOMAS PUCKERING, BART. DESCRIPTIVE OF SIR WALTER'S EXECUTION.

(See the HARLEIAN Collection.)

*London, Nov.* 3, 1618.

'SIR,—My last letters intimated a warrant that was form for Sir Walter Ralegh's dispatch. These will relate to you his end.

'Upon Wednesday, therefore, he was brought to Westminster, to receive sentence anew from the lord chief-justice, to comply with certain formalities, as I hear, in law, for that

those who pronounced it were dead. Being presented at the bar, he demanded for what offence he was proceeded against. Answer was made it was his Majesty's pleasure to take his life for the first, and that the cause of his coming again to the bar now, was to declare the former condemnation to stand still in force. He offered to speak somewhat for himself, but it was not permitted. The attorney told him that he had lived like a star, and like a star must fall when it troubled the firmament. There he was delivered into the sheriff's charge, and by him carried from thence to the Gate-house, and the day following, (which was by all good tokens the lord-mayor's day) in the Old Palace-yard executed. His warning was short, for he had no word to prepare himself for death till that very morning he was convened before the judge. He sued for four or five days longer, under pretence of having somewhat to communicate with his Majesty by writing, for his behoof and service, which in so short a time could not be performed; and something I hear he hath written to the king to that purpose. Yet it was conceived as a device to gain time, that his friends might the more effectually intercede for his pardon; so as that suit would not be granted. Thereupon he prepared himself for death. The dean of Westminster visited him, and after some conference between them two, he at his hands received the sacrament, and the night before his execution made his own *epicedium*, or funeral song, which I have here sent you.

'He had the favour to die a gentleman's death, and to be beheaded. His end was, by the general report of all that were present, very christian like, and so full of resolution as moved all men to pity and wonder. In going from the prison to the scaffold, among others that thronged about to see him, one old man that was bald pressed very forward, insomuch as Sir Walter Ralegh took notice of him, and asked him whether he would have aught of him? To whom the old man answered, 'Nothing but to see him, and to pray God to have mercy upon his soul.' '*I thank thee, good friend,* replied Sir Walter, *and I am sorry I*

*have no better thing to return thee for thy good will; but take this night-cap*, (which was a very rich one that he wore, for he had had two fits of a fever,) *for thou hast more need of it now than I.*

'Being come to the scaffold, he saw the lords seated in a place that was provided for them, somewhat far off, and fearing lest his voice should not well reach them, desired them that they would approach, because what he had then to say he wished the whole world should take notice of; and so they did, and heard a most grave, Christian, and elegant discourse, as they commonly qualify it. In it he laboured to clear himself from three main aspersions. The first, of atheism, which he did, by a worthy profession of his faith, and profession of his hope to be saved thereby. The second was concerning my lord of Essex's death, whom he was reported to have insulted upon at his death, taking tobacco in a bravery before his face, and to have procured and practised his ruin. Against both which he solemnly protested, adding farther, that he acknowledged indeed himself to be of a contrary faction, because my lord of Essex had refused him, whom he first sought; but that he was so far from triumphing at his death, as he never was more affected with grief for any man's, and expressed the same with tears, to his prejudice in the opinion and friendship, as it proved afterward, of the adverse party. The third was concerning these last occasions, wherein he stood charged with a dislegal intention in the voyage he undertook, and with four other accusations since his return. The former seemed grounded upon a report that went, of great sums of money which he secretly transported with him, to the value of £10,000, and the extraordinary provision of artillery he carried with him; both which he satisfied, by shewing the falsehood of the first, (all his store not exceeding the sum of 150 pieces, whereof he sent back part to his wife), and the necessity of the second, in regard of the Spaniard, upon whose friendship he had no reason to presume.

'Touching the other accusations, they all respected Sir Lewis Stukely as their author, whom he professed, by the way, to forgive with all his heart, but yet thought fit to *disenchanter* the world, both the better to justify himself, and to teach every man how to trust to him. And whereas he first accused him to have practised with the French agent about his escape, he protested that he never saw him but once, in the gallery at Whitehall, before he undertook his voyage; neither ever had aught to do with him since. Secondly, whereas Stukely charged him to have offered him £10,000 if he would consent unto his escape, he likewise therein proclaimed him false, sith his largest promises in that kind never exceeded the payment of Stukely's debts, which he confessed to have undertaken for him. Thirdly, whereas the said Stukely accused him to have laid to Sir Edward Parham's charge, (where he was entertained in coming-up to London), the poisoning of him, he took his death upon it, that it was most calumnious. He used, indeed, art to counterfeit a poisoning upon himself, which he thought was warranted by David's example, who feigned himself in a case of like danger mad; but that he ever fathered it upon him, who had ever been his noble and worthy friend, he utterly disavowed it, under a solemn execration. Lastly, whereas his accuser testified against him that he had for his encouragement to give way to his escape, assured him that my lord of Doncaster and Lord Carew were privy to the design, and favourers of it, he assured the contrary, under a deep oath; adding, that he knew well how fearful and dangerous a thing it was to call God as a witness to a lie at any time, much more at the hour of a man's death; but he had herein satisfied the obligation of a good conscience.

'This done, he embraced all the lords and other of his friends there present, with such courtly compliments of discourse as if he had met them at some feast. They then cleared the scaffold, which being done, he takes up the axe, and feels the edge, and finding it sharp for the purpose, *this is that*,

saith he, *that will cure all sorrows*, and so kissing it, laid it down again. After that he went to the three several corners of the scaffold, and kneeling down, desired all the people to pray for him, and conceived a long prayer to himself. Then he began to fit himself for the block, without permitting any help; and first laid himself down to try how the block fitted him. After rising up, the executioner kneeled down, and desired him to forgive him, which, with an embrace, he professed he did; but intreated him not to strike till he gave a token, by lifting up his hand; *and then fear not*, said he, *but strike home*. So he laid himself down to receive the stroke, and the hangman directed him to lay his face toward the east. *No matter how the head lie*, answered he, *so the heart be right*. After he had lain a little while upon the block, conceiving some prayers to himself, he gave the watchword, and the executioner, it seems, not minding it, he called aloud unto him, asking him why he did not strike. *Strike, man*, said he; and so, in two blows, was delivered from his pain.

'In all the time he was upon the scaffold, nor before, there appeared not the least alteration in him, either in his voice or countenance; but he seemed as free from all manner of apprehension, as if he had been come thither rather to be a spectator than a sufferer; nay, the beholders seemed much more sensible than did he. So that he hath purchased here in the opinion of men such honour and reputation, as it is thought his greatest enemies are they that are most sorrowful for his death, which they see is like to turn so much to his advantage. Stukely notwithstanding hath been at court since, offering to his Majesty, by way of his own justification, to take the sacrament upon it, that what he laid to Sir Walter Ralegh's charge was true; and to produce two other witnesses, free from all exception, that would do the like. *Why then*, replied his Majesty, *the more malicious he to utter those speeches at his death*. But Sir Thomas Badger, who stood by and heard it, *let the king*, said he, *take off Stukely's head, as he hath done the other's*

*and let him at his death take the sacrament and his oath upon it, and I'll believe him; but otherwise I shall credit Sir Walter Ralegh's bare affirmative before a thousand of his oaths.* And it is strange to see how every man in court declines that Stukeley's company as treacherous.'

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## N°. XXI.

### A DECLARATION OF THE DEMEANOUR AND CARRIAGE OF SIR WALTER RALEGH, KNIGHT, AS WELL IN HIS VOYAGE, AS IN AND SITHENCE HIS RETURN; AND OF THE TRUE MOTIVES AND INDUCEMENTS WHICH OCCASIONED HIS MAJESTY TO PROCEED IN DOING JUSTICE UPON HIM AS HATH BEEN DONE.

(London, printed by BONHAM NORTON, and JOHN BILL, printers to the King's most excellent Majesty, 1618.)

'Although kings be not bound to give account of their actions to any but God alone, yet such are his Majesty's proceedings, as he hath alway been willing to bring them before sun and moon, and careful to satisfy all his good people with his intentions and courses, giving, as well to future times as to the present, true and undisguised declarations of them; as judging, that for actions not well founded, it is advantage to let them pass in uncertain reports; but for actions that are built upon sure and solid grounds, (such as his Majesty's are) it belongeth to them, to be published by open manifests; especially as his Majesty is willing to declare and manifest to the world, his proceedings in a case of such a nature as this which followeth is, since it not only concerns his own people, but also a foreign prince and state abroad.

'Accordingly, therefore, for that which concerneth Sir Walter Ralegh, late executed for treason, (leaving the thoughts of his heart, and the protestations that he made at his death to God that is the searcher of all hearts, and judge of all truth), his Majesty hath thought fit to manifest unto the world, how things appeared unto himself, and upon what proofs and evident matter, and the examination of the commanders that were employed with him in the voyage, (and namely of those which Sir Walter Ralegh himself, by his own letter to Secretary Winwood, had commended for persons of special worth and credit, and as most fit for greater employments), his Majesty's proceedings have been grounded; whereby it will evidently appear how agreeable they have been in all points to honour and justice.

'Sir Walter Ralegh having been condemned of high treason, at his Majesty's entrance into this kingdom, and by the space of fourteen years, by his Majesty's princely clemency and mercy, not only spared from his execution, but permitted to live, as in *liberâ custodiâ* in the Tower, and to enjoy his lands and living, till all was by law evicted from him upon another ground, and not by forfeiture, (which notwithstanding, his Majesty, out of his abundant grace, gave him a competent satisfaction for the same); at length he fell upon an enterprise of a golden mine in Guiana.

'This proposition of his was presented and recommended to his Majesty by Sir Ralph Winwood, then secretary of state, as a matter not in the air, or speculative, but real, and of certainty; for that Sir Walter Ralegh had seen of the ore of the mine with his eyes, and tried the richness of it. It is true, that his Majesty, in his own princely judgment, gave no belief unto it; as well for that his Majesty was verily persuaded, that in nature there are no such mines of gold entire, as they described this to be; and if any such had been, it was not probable that the Spaniards, who were so industrious in the chase of treasure, would have neglected it so long; as also for that it pas-

ceeded from the person of Sir Walter Ralegh, invested with such circumstances both of his disposition and fortune. But, nevertheless Sir Walter Ralegh had so enchanted the world with his confident asseveration of that which every man was willing to believe, as his Majesty's honour was in a manner engaged not to deny unto his people the adventure and hope of so great riches, to be sought and achieved at the charge of voluntaries; especially, for that it stood with his Majesty's politic and magnanimous courses, in these his flourishing times of peace, to nourish and encourage noble and generous enterprises, for plantations, discoveries, and opening of new trades.

'Hereupon the late Spanish ambassador, the count de Gondomar, took great alarm, and represented unto his Majesty, by loud and vehement assertions, upon iterated audiences, that he knew and had discovered the intention and enterprise of Sir Walter Ralegh to be but hostile and piratical, and tending to the breach of the peace between the two crowns, and danger and destruction of the king his master's subjects in those parts, protesting in a sort against the same. To which his Majesty's answer alway was, that he would send Sir Walter Ralegh with a limited commission, and that he durst not, upon peril of his head, attempt any such matter; and if he did, he would surely do justice upon him, or send him bound hand and foot into Spain, and all the gold and goods he should obtain by robbery and bring home, were they never so great. And for farther caution, his Majesty enjoined Secretary Winwood to urge Sir Walter Ralegh, upon his conscience, and allegiance to his Majesty, to deal plainly, and express himself, whether he had any other intention, but only to go to those golden mines in Guiana, which he not only solemnly protested unto the said Sir Ralph Winwood, but by him writ a close letter to his Majesty, containing a solemn profession thereof, confirmed with many vehement asseverations, and that he never meant or would commit any outrages or spoils upon the king of Spain's subjects. But notwithstanding his Majesty acquainted the

Spanish ambassador with this his protestation, yet the said ambassador would never recede from his former jealousy and importuning his Majesty to stay his voyage, alleging that the great number of ships that Sir Walter Ralegh had prepared for that voyage, shewed manifestly that he had no such peaceable intent; and offering (upon Sir Walter Ralegh's answer thereunto, that those ships were only provided for his safe convoy) that if Sir Walter Ralegh would go with one or two ships only, to seek the said mine, that he would move the king of Spain to send two or three ships with him back again for his safe convoy hither with all his gold; and the said ambassador's person to remain here in pledge for the king his master's performance thereof. But such were the constant fair offers of the said Sir Walter Ralegh, and specious promises, as his Majesty in the end rejected the importunate suit of the said Spanish ambassador for his stay, and resolved to let him go; but therewithal took order, both that he, and all those that went in his company, should find good security to behave themselves peaceably toward all his Majesty's friends and allies; and to observe strictly all the articles of the commission, which his Majesty, for that cause, had the greater care to have it well and clearly penned, and set down. And that his Majesty's honest intention may herein the better appear, the words of the commission are herein inserted as follows.

'JAMES, by the grace of God, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come, to be read, heard, or seen, and to every of them, greeting. Whereas Sir Walter Ralegh, knight, intendeth to undertake a voyage by sea and shipping, unto the south parts of America, or elsewhere within America, possessed and inhabited by heathen and savage people, to the end to discover and find out some commodities and merchandizes in those countries, that be necessary and profitable for the subjects of these our kingdoms and dominions, whereof the inhabitants there make little or no use or estimation; whereupon also may ensue by

trade and commerce, some propagation of the christian faith, and reformed religion, among those savage and idolatrous people. And whereas, we are credibly informed, that there are divers merchants and owners of ships, and others, well-disposed to assist the said Sir Walter in this his enterprise, had they sufficient assurance to enjoy their due parts of the profits returned (in respect of the peril of law wherein the said Sir Walter Ralegh now standeth); and whereas also we are informed, that divers other gentlemen, the kinsmen and friends of the said Sir Walter Ralegh, and divers captains and other commanders are also desirous to follow him, and to adventure their lives with him, in this his journey, so as they might be commanded by no other than himself.

'Know ye, that we, upon deliberate consideration had of the premises, being desirous by all ways and means to work and procure the benefit and good of our loving subjects, and to give our princely fartherance to the said Sir Walter Ralegh, his friends and associates herein, to the encouragement of others in the like laudable journeys and enterprises, to be hereafter prosecuted and pursued; and especially in advancement and furtherance, as well of the conversion of savage people, as of the increase of the trade, traffic, and merchandizes used by our subjects of this our kingdom, being most famous throughout all nations; of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, do give and grant unto the said Sir Walter Ralegh, full power and authority, and free licence and liberty out of this our realm of England, or any other our dominions, to have, carry, take, and lead, for and toward his said intended voyage into the said south parts, or other parts of America (possessed and inhabited, as aforesaid), and to travel thither, all such and so many of our loving subjects, or any other strangers that will become our loving subjects, and live under our obeisance and allegiance, as shall willingly accompany him, with sufficient shipping, armour, weapons, ordnance, mu-

nition, powder, shot, habiliments, victuals, and such wares and merchandizes, as are esteemed by the wild people in those parts, clothing, implements, furniture, cattle, horses, and mares, and all other such things as he shall think most necessary for his voyage, and for the use and defence of him and his company, and trade with the people there; and in passing and returning to and fro, and in those parts to give away, sell, barter, exchange, or otherwise dispose of the same goods, merchandizes, and premises to the most benefit, and at the will and pleasure of the said Sir Walter Ralegh and his company, and such other person or persons, as shall be adventurers or assistants with, or unto him in this his intended voyage, and from thence to return, import, convey, and bring into this our kingdom, or any other our dominions, such gold, silver, bullion, or any other wares, or merchandizes, or commodities whatsoever, as they shall think most fit and convenient; and the same being so returned, imported, conveyed, and brought into this our kingdom, or any other our dominions, to have, take, keep, retain, and convert to the only proper use, benefit, and behoof of the said Sir Walter Ralegh, and his said company, and other persons adventurers and assistants with or to him in this voyage, without the let, interruption, molestation, and disturbance of us, our heirs or successors, or any the officers or ministers of us, our heirs or successors whatsoever, paying and answering unto us, our heirs and successors, the full fifth part in five parts to be divided, of all such gold, and silver, and bullion, and ore of gold or silver, and pearl, and precious stone, as shall be so imported over and beside, and together with such customs, subsidies, and other duties, as shall be due for or in respect of any other goods, wares, or merchandizes whatsoever, to be imported by the true meaning of these presents.

'And to the end the said Sir Walter Ralegh may be the more encouraged to go forward in this his enterprise, and all our loving subjects desirous to be adventurers with him or assistant unto him, may be the more incited to farther his pro-

ceedings, we do hereby in *verbo regis*, for us, our heirs and successors, covenant, promise, and grant, to and with the said Sir Walter Ralegh, and all other persons that shall accompany him, or to be attendant upon him, or to be adventurers or assistants with or to him in this his voyage, that no gold, silver, goods, wares, or merchandises whatsoever, of what kind or sort soever, by him or them or any of them, to be imported into this our kingdom of England, or any other our dominions from any the said south or other parts of America, (possessed or inhabited as aforesaid) shall be attached, seized, or taken by us, our heirs or successors, or to the use of us, our heirs or successors, or by any the officers or ministers of us, our heirs or successors whatsoever; but that the same and every of them (the fifth part of the said gold, silver, or bullion, and ore of gold and silver and pearl, and precious stone, and other the customs and duties aforesaid, being truly answered and paid) shall be, and remain to the sole and proper use and behoof of the said Sir Walter Ralegh, and his said company, and such persons as shall be adventurers with him, or assistant to him in this his voyage; any law, statute, act of parliament, proclamation, provision, or restraint, or any right, title or claim of us, our heirs or successors, or any other matter or thing whatsoever to the contrary, in anywise notwithstanding. And farther, of our more especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we do hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, ordain, constitute, and appoint the said Sir Walter Ralegh to be the sole governor and commander of all persons that shall travel, or be with him in the said voyage, to the said south, or other parts of America, (so possessed and inhabited as aforesaid) or in returning from thence. And we do hereby give unto him, full power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule them or any of them, according to such orders, ordinances, constitutions, directions, and instructions, as by the said Sir Walter Ralegh shall be from time to time established, as well in cases capital and criminal, as civil, both marine and

other; so alway as the said statutes, ordinances, and proceedings (as near as conveniently may be) be agreeable to the laws, statutes, government, and policy of this our realm of England, and not against the true christian faith now professed in the church of England. And because that in such and the like enterprises and voyages, great inconveniencies have grown by the mutinous and disorderly carriage of the mariners and sailors employed in the same, for want of sufficient authority to punish them according to their offences; we do therefore by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, give full power and authority to the said Sir Walter Ralegh, in case of rebellion or mutiny by sea or land, to use and exercise martial law (upon just ground and apparent necessity) in as large and ample manner as our lieutenant-general by sea or land, or our lieutenants in our counties, within our realm of England, have, had, or ought to have, by force of their commission of lieutenancy. And we do farther by these presents, give full power and authority to the said Sir Walter Ralegh, to collect, nominate, and appoint such captains and other inferior commanders and ministers under him, as shall be requisite for the better ordering and governing of his company, and the good of the voyage.

'And farther, we do by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, straightly charge and command the warden of our cinque-ports, and all the customers, comptrollers, surveyors, searchers, waiters, and other officers and ministers of us, our heirs and successors for the time being, that they and every of them do quietly permit and suffer the said Sir Walter Ralegh, and all person and persons that shall be willing to travel and adventure with him in this voyage with their ships, munition, goods, wares, and merchandizes whatsoever, out of this our realm, or any other our dominions, to pass into the said south or other parts of America, (possessed and inhabited as aforesaid) and from thence to return and import into this our realm, or any other our dominions, any goods, wares, or merchan-

dizes, whatsoever, and there to sell or otherwise to dispose of the same, to the best benefit and advantage, and to the only use and behoof of the said Sir Walter Ralegh and his company, and such other persons as shall be adventurers with him in this voyage, paying the fifth part of all gold and silver, bullion, and ore of gold and silver, and of pearl and precious stone imported, and other the customs and duties aforesaid. And these presents, or the inrolment thereof, shall be unto the said warden of the cinque-ports, customers, comptrollers, and other the officers and ministers aforesaid, for the time being, a sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf. And our will and pleasure is; and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do grant unto the said Sir Walter Ralegh, that these our letters patents, or the inrolment thereof, and all and singular grants, clauses, and things therein contained, shall be firm, strong, sufficient and effectual in law, according to our gracious pleasure and meaning herein expressed; any law, statute, act, provision, ordnance, or restraint, or any other matter or thing to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding. Although express mention, &c. In witness whereof, &c. Witness ourself at Westminster, the 26th day of August, in the 14th year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the fiftieth.

*Per breve de privato Sigillo.*

'This commission,' so drawn and framed (as you see) his Majesty himself did often peruse and revise, as forseeing the future events; the tenor whereof appeareth to be so far from giving Sir Walter Ralegh warrant, or colour to invade any of the territories, occupate and possessed by the Spaniards, as it tended to a direction rather of commerce than spoil, even toward the savages themselves. And the better to contain Sir Walter Ralegh, and to hold him upon his good behaviour, his Majesty denied (though much sued unto for the same), to grant him pardon for his former treasons, both to disauthorize him with

those, that were under his command, (in case he should attempt to exceed his commission) and to reserve him to the justice of the law, if by new offences he should make himself indign of former mercies. And as for the good security which his Majesty ordered to be taken, for their good and peaceable behaviour in the voyage, his Majesty never heard any thing to the contrary, but that it was performed, till they were upon their parting; and then was it told him, that every one of the principles that were in the voyage, had put in security one for another, which if his Majesty had known in time, he would never have accepted of.

'But howsoever the commission was penned, and whatsoever the cautions were which his Majesty intended or used, and whatsoever the protestations and promises were, that Sir Walter Ralegh made or exhibited, it appeareth plainly, by the whole sequel of his actions, that he went his own way, and had his own ends; first, to procure his liberty, and then to make new fortunes for himself, casting abroad only this tale of the mine as a lure to get adventurers and followers; having in his eye the Mexico-fleet, the sacking and spoil of towns planted with Spaniards, the depredation of ships, and such other purchase; and making account that if he returned rich, he would ransom his offences (little looking into the nature and character of his Majesty's justice and government), and if otherwise, he would seek his fortune by flight and new enterprises in some foreign country.

'In execution therefore of these his designs, Sir Walter Ralegh, carrying the reputation of an active, witty, and valiant gentleman, and especially of a great commander at sea, by the inticement of this golden bait of the mine, and the estimation of his own name, drew unto him many brave captains, and other knights and gentlemen of great blood and worth, to hazard and adventure their lives, and the whole or a great part of their estates and fortunes in this his voyage; whose ruins and decays following, remain as sad and grievous relics

and monuments of his unfortunate journey, and unfaithful proceedings.

'But before he went from London, he was not so reserved, nor so constant unto his pretence of the mine, but that some sparks brake forth of that light, which afterward appeared. For he cast forth some words to some particular friends of his company, that he knew a town in those parts, upon which he could make a saving voyage in tobacco, though there were no other spoil. Nevertheless, to make the better faith of that he had given out touching the mine, he promised his company at London, that when he came to Plymouth, he would take a great company of pioneers out of the west, (where best workmen are of that kind), and he maintained this his pretence so far, as he billeted the said pioneers for several ships; but when he came into the west this vanished. For it is testified of all parts, and by himself confessed, that he carried none at all, excusing it, that there were many other tall men of the mariners, and common soldiers, that he would have made fall to work; which is a slender excuse of omitting so principal a point. As for pickaxes, mattocs, and shovels, for the working of the mine, it is true he carried some small quantity for a shew, but by the judgment of all that were in his company, nothing near sufficient for that which had been requisite for the working of the mine, which he excused only by saying, that his men never saw them unpacked, and that the mine was not past a foot and a half under ground.

'After, when he was once at sea, he did not much labour to nourish and maintain the belief, that he meant to make his voyage upon the profit of the mine, but fell a degree, as if it were sufficient to bring home certainty and visible proof, that such a mine there was, though he brought not the riches of it. For soon after his setting forth from Ireland, he professed, that if he brought home but a handful or basketful of ore to shew the king, he cared for no more, for it was enough to save his credit; and being charged therewith, he confessed the

speech, with this argument and inference, that if there had been a handful of the mine, it followed there was a mine to be confessed; as if so many ships, so many lives of men, such charge of provisions, and such an honourable commission, had been but for an experiment.

'About the same time likewise, he began to forget his commission, as well as his pretences of the mine; for he did declare himself to divers of his company, that he meant to take S^t. Thome, and that he would make his voyage good upon that town, for that it was very rich; so, whereas it was blown abroad, that the assault of S^t. Thome was enforced by a kind of necessity, for that our troops were first assailed, it appeareth manifestly, both by his speech at London, of a town indefinitely, and by this his speech early in his voyage at sea of S^t. Thome by name, that it was an original design of his from the beginning; and yet it is confessed by all, that the parts of Guiana, where S^t. Thome was situate, were planted by Spaniards, who had divers towns in the same tract, with some Indians intermixed, that are their vassals, so as it is plain, both place and persons were out of his commission.

'And that this was well known to him it appears notably in a letter of his own hand, written since his return from his voyage, wherein he complains that the Spaniards of the same place did murder divers of his men, who came in peace to trade with them, some seven years past; neither doth he in that letter, any way decline his knowledge, that those parts were inhabited by the Spaniards, but stands upon a former title, which he would needs now have strengthened by a new possession; notwithstanding that this his pretence is no way compatible with his commission, and that himself before his going never made overture, or allegation of any such pretext, nor so much as intimated or insinuated any such design or purpose.

'Again, before he came to the islands, he made no diffi-

culty to tell many in express terms, that he meant to surprise and set upon the Mexico-fleet, though sometimes he would qualify it by saying, *if all failed, or if the action of the mine were defeated.* And Sir Walter Ralegh himself being charged with these speeches, confessed the words, but saith, that *in time,* they were spoken after the action of the mine was defeated; and that it was propounded by him, to the end to keep his men together, and if he spake it before, it was but discourse at large.

'After, when he began to be upon the approaches of his pretended design of the mine, and was come to Trinidad, he fell sick in some extremity, and in doubt of life (as was thought) at what time he was moved by some principal persons about him, upon two points, in case he should decease; the one, that he would nominate a general to succeed him; the other, that he would give some direction for prosecution of the action of the mine. To the first he made answer, that his commission could not be set over, and therefore left them to agree of that among themselves; but for the mine, he professed he could give them no direction; and stayed not there, but told them, there was another course (which he did particularize unto them to be a French commission), whereby they might do themselves most good upon the Spaniards.

'When he was upon recovery, he dispatched the land forces pretended for the mine, and had designed Capt. Saint-leger to command in that expedition; but by reason of Saint-leger's infirmity at that time, he resorted to his kinsman Capt. George Ralegh, who was his serjeant-major; in whose written commission which he gave him, he was wary enough not to express the taking of S^t. Thome, but only inserted a clause of commandment, *that they should in all things obey him, as they would do to himself in person.* Yet in private directions and instructions, he did open himself to divers of his company, that in case they should not receive some advertisement, that the town was reinforced by new supplies of men (whereby the

enterprise might be of too great hazard for their number) they should take the town first, telling them, that the mine was but three miles distant short of the town, and inferring (as Keymis expounded it afterward) that it was in vain to meddle with the mine, except the town were first taken, and the Spaniards chased; for that otherwise, they should but discover it, and work it for the Spaniards. And when he had opened himself thus far, some of his company, of the more intelligent and dutiful sort, did in plain terms turn it upon him, setting before him, that the taking of the town would break the peace, and that they should go against the commission; whereupon, most falsely and scandalously, he doubted not with confidence to affirm, that he had order by word of mouth from the king and his council, to take the town, if it were any hindrance to the digging of the mine.

'But the event did sufficiently expound and manifest the direction; and yet that kind of interpretation little needed, for that young Mr. Ralegh, (who was likest to know his father's secret) when he led his soldiers upon the town, used these or the like words, *come on my hearts, here is the mine that ye must expect, they that look for any other mine are fools.* And with this did well concur that which followed, in the prosecution of the mine after the town was taken; for this mine was not only imaginary, but moveable, for that which was directed to be three miles short of S^t^. Thome, was after sought thirty miles beyond S^t^. Thome.

'All this while Sir Walter Ralegh stayed at Pont de Gallo, by the space of some nine weeks, during which time it was much noted by those that remained with him, that the speech of the mine was dead, (whereas men in expectation do commonly feed themselves with the talk of that they long to hear of); nay more, after he had received news of the taking of the town, which had been the fittest time to pursue the enterprise of the mine, (in regard the town that might have been the impediment, was mastered) he never entertained any

such design, but contrarywise, having knowledge at the same time, that his son was slain, (who, as it seems, was his only care among the land soldiers) he did move very inhumanly, to remove not a little from Pont de Gallo to Port Hercule in respect of the danger of the current, (as he pretended) but to go for the Caribees many leagues off; accounting (as it seemeth) the land soldiers, but as *fruges consumere natos*, and having his thoughts only upon sea forces, which how they should have been employed, every man may judge. And whereas some pretence is made him, as if he should leave some word at Pont de Gallo of direction to what place the land soldiers should follow him; it is plain he knew them at that time so distressed for victual, as famine must have overtaken them, before they could overtake him; at which time one of his captains told him, that he had delivered out fifty-two men to that service, which were then at the enterprise on land, whose lives he held at a dear rate, and that he would not weigh anchor, as long as he had a cable to ride by, or a cake of bread to eat; so Sir Walter Ralegh finding no consent in that which he propounded, that cruel purpose was diverted.

'It was also much observed, that after that unfortunate return of Keymis, notwithstanding Sir Walter Ralegh did publicly give out, that he would question him for failing to prosecute the mine, he had him at dinner and supper, and used him as familiarly and as kindly as before. And to George Ralegh, the serjeant-major, (to whom he did use the like discountenances in public, who took it more tenderly, and complained, and brake with him about it), he did open himself more plainly, telling him that he must seem to do as much as he did, to give satisfaction.

'After all this, when the prosecution of this imaginary mine vanished and was defeated, and that his company cast a sad eye homeward, finding that they were but abused, Sir Walter Ralegh called a council of his captains, and held the same in his cabin, where he propounded to them, that his son

tention and design was, first, to make to the Newfoundland, and there to revictual and refresh his ships; and thence to go to the Western islands, and there to lie in wait to meet with the Mexico fleet, or to surprise some caracs; and so having gotten treasure, which might make him welcome into any foreign country, to take some new course for his future fortunes, valuing himself as a man of great enterprise, and fame abroad; but then and at divers times he did directly and openly declare, that it was no coming for England, for that he knew not how things would be construed, and that he (for his part) would never put his head under the king's girdle, except he first saw the great seal for his pardon.

'At which time, his cogitations embracing east and west, rather than any return into his country, he did in particular make promise to a principal commander in his company, to give him a ship to go into the East Indies, if he would accompany him thither. But, according to his first project, he went to the Newfoundland, which he needed not to have done, if his purpose had been for England, (for that he had victuals enough, and to spare, for that journey), and there at Newfoundland his other company having formerly dispersed and forsaken him, his own company which was in his own ship began likewise to mutiny. And although some old pirates, either by his inciting, or out of fear of their own case, were fierce and violent for the sea, and against the return, yet the far greater number were for the return; at which time himself got a-land, and stood upon the sea bank, and put it to a question, whether they should return for England, or land at Newfoundland. Whereupon there was a division of voices, the one part to the starboard, and the other to the larboard; of which that part which was for the return for England, was two parts of three, and would by no means be drawn to set foot on land, but kept themselves in the ship, where they were sure they were masters. Which he perceiving, for fear of farther mutiny, professed in dissimulation, that he himself

was for the return into England, and came and stood among them that had most voices; but, nevertheless, after that he despaired to draw his company to follow him farther, he made offer of his own ship (which was of great value) to his company, if they would set him aboard a French bark. The like offer he made, when he came upon the coast of Ireland, to some of his chief officers there.

'But about the time of his arrival upon the coast of Ireland, the forcing and sacking of S^t. Thome, and the firing of the town, and the putting the Spaniards to the sword, was noised abroad in all parts, and was by special advertisement come unto the knowledge of the count de Gondomar, then ambassador for the king of Spain with his Majesty, who thereupon prayed audience of his Majesty, and with great instance demanded justice against the persons and their goods (who had committed those outrages and made those spoils upon his Majesty's subjects) according to his Majesty's promise, and the treaty of peace. Whereupon his Majesty published his royal proclamation for the discovery of the truth of Ralegh's proceedings, and the advancement of justice. Notwithstanding all which, his Majesty used a gracious and mild course toward Sir Walter Ralegh, sending down Sir Lewis Stukely, vice-admiral of the county of Devon, to bring Sir Walter Ralegh in fair manner, and as his health would give leave, by easy journeys, to London. For about this time Sir Walter Ralegh was come from Ireland into England, into the port of Plymouth, where it was easy to discern with what goodwill he came thither, by his immediate attempt to escape from thence; for soon after his coming to Plymouth, before he was under guard, he dealt with the owner of a French bark, (pretending it was for a gentleman a friend of his), to make ready his bark for a passage, and offered him twelve crowns for his pains. And one night he went in a little boat to have seen the bark that should have transported him; but the night being very dark, he missed of the bark, and came back again,

nothing done; wherein by the way appears, that it was not any train laid for him by Sir Lewis Stukely or any other (as was voiced) to move or tempt him to an escape, but that he had a purpose to fly and escape from his first arrival into England.

'But in this his purpose he grew to be more resolute and fixed, after the lords of his Majesty's council, observing the delays in his coming up, had sent unto Stukely, some quick letters for the hastening thereof. But thereupon, as his desire of escape increased, so did the difficulty thereof increase also; for that Stukely from that time forth kept a better guard upon him, whereof he took that apprehension, insomuch as (knowing Stukely to be witty and watchful) he grew to an opinion that it would be impossible for him to escape, except he could win one of these two points; either to corrupt Stukely, or at least to get to have some liberty, when he came to London, of remaining in his own house; for guiltiness did tell him that upon his coming to London, it was like he should be laid prisoner in the Tower. Wherefore he saw no other way, but in his journey to London, to counterfeit sickness in such a manner, as might in commiseration of his extremity, move his Majesty to permit him to remain in his own house, where he assured himself ere long to plot an opportunity of an escape. And having in his company one Mannourie, a Frenchman, a professor of physic, and one that had many chemical receipts, he practised by crowns, and promised to draw him into his consort, the better to make faith of his counterfeiting to be sick. The story whereof Mannourie himself reporteth to have passed in this manner.

'Upon Saturday, the 25th of July, Sir Walter Ralegh, Sir Lewis Stukely, and Mannourie went to lie at Mr. Drake's, where the letters of commission from the privy council were brought unto Sir Lewis Stukley, by one of his Majesty's messengers, which caused a sudden departure, with much

more haste than was expected before; and the countenance of Sir Walter Ralegh was much changed after Sir Lewis Stukely had shewed the commission; for Mannourie saw him from the stair-head, (he being alone in his chamber, the door standing half open), how he stamped with his feet, and pulled himself by the hair, swearing in these words, *God's wounds! is it possible my fortune should return upon me thus again!*

'From Mr. Drake's they went on their journey to the house of Mr. Horsey, distant from thence four miles, or thereabout. It was in that hour that Sir Walter Ralegh began first to cause Mannourie to be sounded what was in his heart, by an old domestic of his, called Captain King, who there began to discourse unto Mannourie of the infortunity of his master, and among other things, said thus, *I would we were all at Paris.* To whom Mannourie answered, I *would we were all at London; alas! what shall we do at Paris? Because,* quoth King, *that as soon as we come to London, they will commit Sir Walter Ralegh to the Tower, and cut off his head.* Whereupon Mannourie answered, that he hoped better than so, and that he was sorry for his ill fortune, and that according to his small ability, he was ready to do him all honest service he could, so it might be done without offence.

'After dinner, it being Sunday, Sir Walter Ralegh departed from Mr. Horsey's house, and went to Sherborne, and in the way when he came within view thereof, turning to Mannourie, and shewing him the place and the territory about it, he said unto him, sighing, that all that was his, and that the king had unjustly taken it from him. He and Stukely lay not at Sherborne, but were invited to the house of old Mr. Parham; Mannourie and their train went to lie at Sherborne, at the sign of the George. The next day, being Monday the 27th of July, Mannourie went to them, and from thence they took their way toward Salisbury, thirty-five miles from Sherborne. And arriving there, Sir Walter Ralegh going on foot down the hill, addressed himself unto Mannourie, and asked him if he had any of his vomits, or other medicines;

which he telling him that he had, he prayed him to make one ready against the next morning, and to tell nobody thereof. *I know*, quoth he, *that it is good for me to evacuate many bad humours, and by this means I shall gain time to work my friends, give order for my affairs, and, it may be, pacify his Majesty before my coming to London: for I know well, that as soon as I come there, I shall to the Tower, and that they will cut off my head, if I use no means to escape it; which I cannot do, without counterfeiting to be sick, which your vomits will effect without suspicion.* For which cause the same evening, as soon as he arrived, he laid him down upon a bed, complaining much of his head, and blaming his great day's journey from Sherborne to Salisbury, (notwithstanding he supped very well), but after supper he seemed to be surprised with a dimness of sight, by a swimming or giddiness in his head, and holding his hand before his face, he rose from his bed, and being led by the arm by Sir Lewis Stukely, he staggered so, that he struck his head with some violence against a post of the gallery before his chamber, which made Sir Lewis Stukely think that he was sick indeed, in which belief Mannourie left him for that time.

'The next day, in the morning, he sent his lady his wife, and most of his servants to London, and also Captain King; and Cuthbert and Mannourie, and Sir Lewis Stukely, being in Stukely's chamber, a servant of the said Sir Walter, named Robin, came and told them that his master was out of his wits, and that he was naked in his shirt, upon all four, scratching and biting the rushes upon the planks; which greatly pitied Sir Lewis Stukely, who, rising in haste, sent Mannourie to him; who when he came, found him gotten again to his bed, and asking him what he ailed, he answered, he ailed nothing, but that he did it of purpose. And Sir Walter Ralegh asking him for his vomit, he gave it him, who made no bones, but swallowed it down incontinently; at which time Sir Lewis Stukely coming in, Sir Walter began

again to cry and rave. Then Mannourie went out of the chamber; and the vomit which he had given him was an hour and a half before it wrought. But in the meantime Sir Walter Ralegh began to draw up his legs and arms all on a heap, as it had been in a fit of convulsions and contractions of his sinews, and that with such vehemence, that Sir Lewis Stukely had much ado, with the help of others, to pull out strait, sometimes an arm, sometimes a leg, which against all the strength they had, he would draw up again as it was before. Whereat the said Sir Lewis Stukely, took great compassion, causing him to be well rubbed and chafed, which Sir Walter Ralegh himself afterward told unto Mannourie, laughing that he had well exercised Sir Lewis Stukely, and taught him to be a physician.

'This feigned fit being thus past, Sir Walter Ralegh called Mannourie, and when he came, he prayed him to stay by him, and said he would take some rest. Mannourie shut the door, and being alone with him, Sir Walter Ralegh told him, that his vomit had done nothing as yet, and said that he would take another more violent; but Mannourie assuring him, that without doubt it would work, he contented himself, and asked Mannourie if he could invent any thing that might make him look horrible and loathsome outwardly, without offending the principal parts, or making him sick inwardly. Mannourie studied a little, and then told him, that he would make a composition presently, of certain things, which would make him like a leper from head to foot, without doing him any harm, which at his entreaty he effected speedily; at which time Sir Walter Ralegh gave him the reason why he did it, telling him that his being in that case would make the lords of the council afraid to come near him, and move them with more pity to favour him. Soon after that Mannourie had put this composition upon his brow, his arms, and his breasts, Sir Lewis Stukely came into the chamber, and Mannourie went away, and Sir Lewis Stukely perceiving the places

where Mannourie had put this composition to be all pimpled, his face full of great blisters of divers colours, having in the midst a little touch of yellow, and round about like a purple colour, and all the rest of his skin as it were inflamed with heat, he began to apprehend the danger of the disease, that it was contagious, and being very much astonished at the sudden accident, he asked Mannourie what he thought thereof; but Mannourie judged it fit to conceal it from him at that time, seeing Sir Walter Ralegh had not yet told him, that he meant to fly out of England, but that it was only to gain time to satisfy his Majesty.

'Upon Mannourie's uncertain answer to Sir Lewis Stukely, touching Sir Walter Ralegh's malady, Stukely resolved to go to my lord bishop of Ely, now of Winchester, to relate unto him in what case Sir Walter Ralegh was, and brought unto Ralegh two physicians to see and visit him; who being come, could tell nothing of what humour the said sickness was composed. There came also a third, a bachelor in physic, who all could not by all that they could do, discover this disease; only they gave their opinion and advice, that the patient could not be exposed to the air, without manifest peril of his life, and thereof they made their report in writing, unto which Mannourie also set his hand.

'Sir Walter Ralegh seeing that all these things fell out according to his intention, was exceedingly contented thereat, especially that in the presence of the said physicians the vomit began to work both upward and downward. And because he doubted that the physicians would ask to see his water, he prayed Mannourie to do something to make it seem troubled and bad; which to content him (giving him the urinal into his bed) Mannourie rubbed the inside of the glass with a certain drug, which as soon as he had made water therein, the urine, even in the hands of the physicians, turned all into an earthy humour, of a blackish colour, and made the water also

to have an ill savour, which made the physicians judge the disease to be mortal, and without remedy but from heaven.

'He made Mannourie also to tie his arms about with black silk riband, which he took from his poniard, to try if it would distemper the pulse, but that succeeded not, as he thought it would. The day following he called Mannourie, and prayed him to make some more such blisters upon him, as upon his nose, his head, his thighs, and his legs; which Mannourie having done, it succeeded according to his desire, for which he was very jocund and merry with Mannourie, and said unto him, that the evacvation which his physic had caused, had so opened his stomach, that he was exceeding hungry, and prayed Mannourie that he would go and buy him some meat secretly; *for*, quoth he, *if I eat publicly, it will be seen that I am not sick.* So according to his request, Mannourie went to the White-hart in Salisbury, and bought him a leg of mutton and three loaves, which he ate in secret, and by this subtility it was thought that he lived three days without eating, but not without drink. This he continued until Friday, the last of July, seeming alway to be sick in the presence of company; and nevertheless, being alone, he writ his declaration or Apology, and prayed Mannourie to transcribe it, which was since presented to his Majesty.

'The same evening Sir Lewis Stukely discoursing upon his sickness, and whence it should proceed, Sir Walter Ralegh said in these words,—*as God save me, I think I have taken poison where I lay the night before I came to this town; I know that Mr. Parham is a great lover of the king of Spain, and a papist, and that he keeps alway a priest in his house; but I will not have any of you to speak of it; nor you, Monsieur,* (quoth he) speaking to Mannourie. Also, Sir Walter Ralegh, his chamber doors being shut, walked up and down, and only Mannourie with him, there naked in his shirt, and took a looking-glass, and looking upon the spots in his face, whereat he took great pleasure, and laughing, said unto Mannourie these words,—

*we shall laugh well one day, for having thus cozened and beguiled the king, his council, and the physicians, and the Spaniards and all.*

'Upon the Saturday that his Majesty arrived at Salisbury, which was the 1st of August, Sir Walter Ralegh desired to speak with Mannourie in secret, and seemed to have a very great apprehension of something, and having made him shut the doors, prayed him to give him a red leather coffer, which was within another coffer, which when he had, he was a good while looking in it, and then called Mannourie, and putting nine pieces of Spanish money of gold into his hand, he said thus,—*There is twenty crowns in pistolets, which I give you for your physical receipts, and the victual you bought me; and I will give you fifty pounds a-year, if you will do that which I shall tell you; and if it happen that Sir Lewis Stukely do ask you what conference you had with me, tell him that you comfort me in mine adversity, and that I make you no other answer than thus, as is here written,* which he had already written with his own hand in a little piece of paper for Mannourie's instruction, as followeth.

'*Vela M. Mannourie l'acceptance de tout mes travaus, pertie de mon estat, & de mon fils, mes maladies, & doleurs. Vela l'effect de mon confidence au roy.* Which paper, of Ralegh's handwriting, Mannourie produced.

'And now Sir Walter Ralegh began to practise with Mannourie, and to tell him that he would fly and get himself out of England, and that if Mannourie would aid him in his escape, it was all in his power, and that Sir Lewis Stukely trusted in nobody but Mannourie. Whereupon Mannourie made him an overture, that at his coming to London he should keep himself close in a friend's house of Mannourie's, in Shire-lane in London, whereunto he seemed to incline, and found Mannourie's advice good for a while. But in the end he told him, that he was resolved otherwise, and that he had already sent Captain King to hire him a bark below Gravesend, which would go with all winds, and another little boat to carry him

to it; *For*, quoth he, *to hide myself in London, I should be alway in fear to be discovered by the general searchers that are there; but to escape, I must get leave to go to my house, and being there, I will handle the matter so, that I will escape out of the hands of Sir Lewis Stukely by a back door, and get me into the boat; for nobody will doubt that I can go on foot, seeing me so feeble as I seem to be.* And then Ralegh having mused a while, without speaking, Mannourie asked him, *Sir, wherefore will you fly? Your Apology, and your last declaration, do not they justify you sufficiently?* Then all in choler, Ralegh answered him in English thus; *Never tell me more, a man that fears is never secure;* which fashion of his put Mannourie to silence for that time.

'Now there rested nothing but his Majesty's licence, to permit him to go to his own house, without which, he said, he could not possibly escape. This licence was after granted him by the means of Mr. Vice-chamberlain and Mr. Secretary Naunton; which being obtained, Mannourie took occasion to say to him, *that hereby one might see, that his Majesty had no meaning to take his life, seeing that he suffered him to go to his own house to recover his health. No*, quoth Ralegh, *they used all these kinds of flatteries, to the duke of Byron, to draw him fairly to the prison, and then they cut off his head; I know that they have concluded among them, that it is expedient that a man should die, to reassure the traffic which I have broken in Spain.* And thereupon brake forth into most hateful, and traiterous words against the king's own person, ending in a menace and bravery, *that if he could save himself for that time, he would plot such plots as should make the king think himself happy to send for him again, and render him his estate with advantage; yea, and force the king of Spain to write into England in his favour.*

'Mannourie at that time did ask him farther, if he escaped, what should become of Sir Lewis Stukely? and whether he should be put to death for him or not, and whether he should lose his office and estate? *Not to death*, quoth Ralegh, *but he will be imprisoned for a while, but his lands the king cannot have*

*for that they are already assured to his eldest son; and for the rest, it was no part of his care.* Mannourie farther asked him, if it were not treason in himself to be aiding to his escape? *No,* quoth he, *for that you are a stranger; nevertheless, you must not be known of anything, for then you will be sure to be put in prison.* In conclusion, Mannourie demanded of him yet farther, *but what if it be discovered, that I had any hand in your escape? Why,* quoth he, *follow me into France (that is your country), and quit all, and I will make you amends for all.*

'After, Ralegh went on his journey to Andover, and so to Hartfordbridge, and from thence to Staines; during which time, Sir Lewis Stukely being made acquainted by Mannourie with Ralegh's purpose to escape, used extraordinary diligence in guardsand watches upon him. Which Ralegh perceiving, said to Mannourie, at Staines, *I perceive well it is not possible for me to escape by our two means alone, Stukely is so watchful, and sets such strait guard upon me, and will be too hard for us, for all our cunnings; therefore there is no way but to make him of our counsel; and if we can persuade him to let me save myself, I will give him in hand £200 worth;* and thereupon drew forth a jewel, and shewed it to Mannourie, and gave it into his hand, made in the fashion of hail powdered with diamonds, with a ruby in the midst, which he valued at £150, and said, *beside this jewel, he shall have £50 in money; I pray you go tell him so from me, and persuade him to it, I know he will trust you.*

'Mannourie went presently to Stukely, and told him as before, and concluded with him, that Mannourie should report back to Ralegh, that he would accept of his offer, and bade him tell Ralegh also, that he was content to do as he desired; but he would chuse rather to go away with him, than to tarry behind with shame and reproach. And he bade Mannourie ask him farther, how he thought he could do this, without losing his office of vice-admiral, which cost him £600, and how they should live afterward; and to what place they should go, and what means he would carry with him, to furnish this

intended escape. Which Mannourie did, and was answered by the said Ralegh, and prayed to tell Stukely, that if he would swear unto him not to discover him, he would tell him his whole intent. And that for the first point, though Stukely should lose his office, yet he should be no loser upon the matter; and for afterward, as soon as he was gotten into France or Holland, his wife was to send him £1000, and that he carried with him only 1000 crowns in money and jewels to serve for the present in his escape. But after supper, Ralegh said unto Mannourie, *O! if I could escape without Stukely, I should do bravely; but it is no matter*, said he, *I'll carry him along, and afterward I'll dispatch myself of him well enough.* And after, Mannourie relating all that had passed to Stukely, brought them together, at which time Ralegh shewed the jewel to Stukely; and he making shew to be content, prayed him a little respite to dispose of his office; whereupon Mannourie seeing them so accorded upon the matter in appearance, took his leave of them to go to London. And in the morning Mannourie upon the taking of his leave, said to Ralegh, that he did not think to see him again while he was in England; whereupon Ralegh gave him a letter directed to Mrs. Herrys of Radford, that she should deliver him an iron furnace with a distillatory of copper belonging unto it, and charged him to tell every man he met that he was sick, and that he left him in an extreme looseness that very night.

'But Ralegh having formerly dispatched a messenger to London, to prepare him a bark for his escape, came at last to London, and having won his purpose, (by these former devices of feigned sickness,) to be spared from imprisonment in the Tower, and to be permitted to remain at his own house, till his better recovery, there fell out an accident, which gave him great hopes and encouragement speedily to facilitate his intended design for escape. For as he came on his way to London, in his inn at Brentford, there came unto him a Frenchman named La Chesnay, a follower of Le Clerc, last agent here

for his Majesty's dearest brother the French king. Who told him that the French agent was very desirous to speak with him, as soon as might be after his arrival at London, for matters greatly concerning the said Sir Walter's weal and safety; as in effect it fell out, that the very next night after his arrival at London, the said Le Clerc and La Chesnay came unto him to his house, and there did the said Le Clerc offer unto him a French bark, which he had prepared for him to escape in, and with all his letters recommendatory for his safe conduct and reception to the governor of Calais, and to send a gentleman expressly that should attend and meet him there. To which offer of his, Ralegh, after some questions passed, finding the French bark not to be so ready nor so fit as that himself had formerly provided, gave him thanks, and told him that he would make use of his own bark, but for his letters and the rest of his offer, he should be beholden to him, because his acquaintance in France was worn out. So passionately bent was he upon his escape, as that he did not forbear to trust his life, and to communicate a secret importing him so near, upon his first acquaintance, and unto a stranger, whom he hath since confessed that he never saw before. And thus after two nights stay, the third night he made an actual attempt to escape and was in boat toward his ship, but was by Stukely arrested, brought back, and delivered into the custody of the lieutenant of the Tower.

'For these his great and heinous offences, in acts of hostility upon his Majesty's confederates, depredations, and abuses, as well of his commission, as of his Majesty's subjects under his charge, impostures, attempts of escape, declining his Majesty's justice, and the rest, evidently proved or confessed by himself, he had made himself utterly unworthy of his Majesty's farther mercy; and because he could not by law be judicially called in question, for that his former attainder of treason is the highest and last work of the law (whereby he was *civiliter mortuus*), his Majesty was inforced (except attainders should

become privileges for all subsequent offences) to resolve to have him executed upon his former attainder.

'His Majesty's just and honourable proceedings being thus made manifest to all his good subjects by this preceding Declaration, not founded upon conjectures or likelihoods, but either upon confession of the party himself or upon the examination of divers unsuspected witnesses, he leaves it to the world to judge, how he could either have satisfied his own justice, (his honourable intentions having been so perverted and abused by the said Sir Walter Ralegh) or yet make the uprightness of the same his intentions appear to his dearest brother the king of Spain, if he had not by a legal punishment of the offender, given an example, as well of terror to all his other subjects, not to abuse his gracious meanings, in taking the contrary courses for the attaining to their own unlawful ends, as also of demonstration to all other foreign princes and states, whereby they might rest assured of his Majesty's honourable proceeding with them, when any the like case shall occur. By which means his Majesty may the more assuredly expect and claim an honourable concurrence, and a reciprocal correspondence from them, upon any the like occasion. But as to Sir Walter Ralegh's confession at his death, what he confessed or denied touching any the points of this Declaration, his Majesty leaves him and his conscience therein to God, as was said in the beginning of this discourse. For sovereign princes cannot make a true judgment upon the bare speeches or asseverations of a delinquent at the time of his death, but their judgment must be founded upon examinations, re-examinations, and confrontments, and such-like real proofs, as all this former discourse is made-up and built upon; all the material and most important of the said examinations being taken under the hands of the examinates that could write, and that in the presence of no fewer than six of his Majesty's privy-council, and attested by their alike several subscriptions under their hands, which were my lords, the archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Vc-

rulam, lord-chancellor of England, the earl of Worcester, lord privy-seal, Mr. Secretary Naunton, the master of the rolls, and Sir Edward Coke.'

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## N°. XXII.

### AN EXAMINATION OF MR. DAVID HUME'S ARGUMENTS AGAINST SIR WALTER RALEGH, IN NOTE I, VOL. VI, P. 555, OF HIS HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

(N. B. Mr. HUME's words are distinguished by the *Italic character.*)

1. *There seems to be an improbability that the Spaniards, who knew nothing of Ralegh's pretended mine, should have built a town in so wide a coast, within three miles of it. The chances are extremely against such a supposition, and it is more natural to think that the view of plundering the town led him thither, than that of working a mine.*—Had Mr. Hume examined more minutely than he appears to have done, the papers relative to Sir Walter's three first voyages to Guiana, presented to the reader in this work, he would have found that the Spaniards were *not* unacquainted with the knight's motions in that quarter. Their building the town where they did built it, is an argument that they thought mines existed there, and strongly favours the veracity of Keymis, as to the mine in question. Had Ralegh, under the circumstances in which he stood in this country, sold his *all* for a voyage to plunder the town, as Mr. Hume adds, would not the mere idea have indicated insanity, not to mention the cheat practised upon his family and co-adventurers?

II. *No such mine is there found to this day.*—This assertion surely required the support of some authority. Dr. Campbell on the contrary informs us, that Coreal, one of the best Spanish travellers, confirms Sir Walter's account of the riches of Guiana; and that various mines were marked in that country, of which the Spaniards were suspiciously careful. (See LIVES of the ADMIRALS, 8vo, 1781, I, 522, note l.)

III. *Ralegh in fact found no mine, and in fact he plundered and burned a Spanish town. Is it not more probable, therefore, that the latter was his intention? How can the secrets of his breast be rendered so visible, as to counterpoise certain facts?*—That no mine was found, and that a Spanish town was burned, were, if there be any truth in the preceding documents, the actions of Keymis, not the commands of Ralegh. The probability that the latter was the knight's intention, is already examined under the first argument; and as for the *secrets of his breast*, Sir Walter's words, at his death, are the best testimony which we could have had of them.

IV. *He confesses, in his letter to Lord Carew, that though he knew it, yet he concealed from the king the settlement of the Spaniards on that coast; does not this fact alone render him sufficiently criminal?*—In chap. VIII, the reader has Sir Walter's Address to Lord Carew at length, and can therefore refer to the knight's arguments.

V. *His commission empowers him only to settle on a coast possessed by savage and barbarous inhabitants; was it not the most evident breach of orders to disembark on a coast possessed by Spaniards?*—The coast was not *possessed* by Spaniards, although they had *settlements* in the country. Ralegh maintained that the claims of the English to it were at least equally just; and perhaps a less weak prince than James would have supported him, to the glory of his country. The words of the commission were only in the usual form, *viz.* 'Unto the south parts of America, or elsewhere within America, possessed and

inhabited by heathen and savage people. (See N°. XXI of this.)

VI. *His orders to Keymis, when he sent him up the river, are contained in his own Apology, and from them it appears that he knew (what was unavoidable), that the Spaniards would resist, and would oppose the English landing, and taking possession of the country; his intentions, therefore, were hostile from the beginning.*—It appears, indeed, by these orders, that Sir Walter, as became him, gave Keymis his best advice, in case of an attack from the Spaniards; but he could not know for certain that such an attack was intended, nor was he so unfit for his command, as, on his arrival at Guiana, to forego the object of his voyage, from the bare apprehension of such an attack.

VII. *Without provocation, and even when at a distance, he gave Keymis orders to dislodge the Spaniards from their own town; could any enterprise be more hostile, and, considering the Spaniards as allies to the nation, could any enterprise be more criminal? Was he not the aggressor, even though it should be true that the Spaniards fired upon his men, at landing? it is said he killed* 300 *or* 400 *of them, is that so light a matter?*—On the contrary, the reader, by referring to Sir Walter's order to Keymis, in his Apology, will find that the knight was in doubt whether there was such a Spanish town there, or not; and that he only ordered Keymis to repel them, in case the Spaniards began to war upon him. I know not whence Mr. Hume derived his formidable numbers of 300 or 400, for which he again gives us no authority; and for which we look in vain in the king's Declaration, where the circumstance would probably have been made the most of.

VIII. *In his letter to the king, and in his Apology, he grounds his defence on former hostilities exercised by the Spaniards against other companies of Englishmen. These are accounted for by the ambiguity of the treaty between the nations; and it is plain, that though these might possibly be reasons for the king's declaring war against that nation, they could never entitle Ralegh to declare war, and without any commission, or contrary to his commission, to invade the Spanish*

*settlements. He pretends, indeed, that peace was never made with Spain in the Indies,—a most absurd notion! The chief hurt which the Spaniards could receive from England was in the Indies; and they never would have made peace at all, if hostilities had been still to be continued on these settlements. By secret agreement, the English were still allowed to support the Dutch, even after the treaty of peace; if they had also been allowed to invade the Spanish settlements, the treaty had been a full peace to England, while the Spaniards were still exposed to the full effects of war.*—When England made peace with Spain, the Indian trade was passed-over in silence, owing to the difficulty of adjusting questions which regarded it. This the Spaniards interpreted in their favour, in consequence of the edicts they had published against the intercourse of European nations with their colonies; and the English in their own favour, because not excluded by any treaty from commerce with any part of the king of Spain's dominions. The violences which ensued were of necessity buried in oblivion, for they were irremediable upon any fixed principle. (See HUME, chap. XLVIII.) Sir Walter neither declared war on, nor invaded the Spanish settlements; he only defended himself when attacked.

IX. *If the claim to the property of that country, as first discoverers, was good, in opposition to present settlement, as Ralegh pretends, why was it not laid before the king, with all its circumstances, and submitted to his judgment?* Answer—because he was too weak, too unwarlike, too much infatuated with the Spanish match, to make the most of the means in his power.

X. *Ralegh's force is acknowledged by himself to have been insufficient to support him in the possession of St. Thomas, against the power of which Spain was master on that coast; yet it was sufficient, as he owns, to take by surprise and plunder twenty towns; it was not therefore, his design to settle, but to plunder. By these confessions, which I have here brought together, he plainly betrays himself.*—The force prepared by the Spaniards at St. Thome, on their intelligence of Ralegh's expedition, hath been related; and in

his last letter to the king Sir Walter writes, 'If I forbore all parts of the Spanish Indies, wherein I might have taken twenty of their towns on the sea-coasts, and did only follow the enterprise I undertook for Guiana, &c.' (See chap. IX.) How then does Mr. Hume's triumphant conclusion follow?

XI. *Why did he not stay and work his mine, as at first he projected? He apprehended that the Spaniards would be upon him with a greater force. But before he left England he knew that this must be the case if he invaded any part of the Spanish colonies; his intention, therefore, never was to settle, but only to plunder.*—The apprehension of the Spanish force doth *not*, by the preceding papers, appear to have been the cause of Sir Walter not staying to work the mine; nor doth he appear to have known, before he left England, that he should meet with such opposition from the Spaniards; Mr. Hume's favourite conclusion is therefore still unsubstantiated.

XII. *He acknowledges that he knew neither the depth nor riches of the mine, but only that there was some ore there; would he have ventured all his fortune and credit on so precarious a foundation?*—Those who have perused the foregoing pages will I hope agree with me in opinion that they contain a sufficient answer to this argument.

XIII. *Would the other adventurers, if made acquainted with this, have risked every thing to attend him; ought a fleet to have been equipped for an experiment; was there not plainly an imposture in the management of this affair?*—The other adventurers would certainly have enquired upon what grounds they risked everything (if, which doth not appear, *they did risk every thing*) before they attended Sir Walter; nor would a fleet have been equipped upon the experiment, had it not appeared a feasible one. If, as Mr. Hume supposes, there was an imposture in the management of this affair, a *number* of credulous people must have been the dupes of *one man*, which, if we consider the nature of the circumstances, doth not appear very probable.

XIV. *He says to Keymis in his orders, bring but a basketful of ore and it will satisfy the king that my project was not imaginary. This was easily done from the Spanish mines, and he seems to have been chiefly displeased at Keymis for not attempting it; such a view was a premeditated apology to cover his cheat.*—On referring to Sir Walter's Apology, in chap. VIII, the reader will find this order to Keymis thus expressed. 'But if you find that the mine be not so rich as it may persuade the holding of it, and draw on a second supply, then shall you bring but a basket or two to satisfy his Majesty that my design was not imaginatory, but true, though not answerable to his Majesty's expectation for the quantity, of which I never gave assurance, nor could.'

XV. *The king in his Declaration imputes it to Ralegh, that as soon as he was at sea he immediately fell into such uncertain and doubtful talk of his mine, and said, that it would be sufficient if he brought home a basketful of ore. From the circumstance last mentioned, it appears, that this imputation was not without reason.*—If we grant the Declaration to be unquestionable in point of veracity, it is still very possible that Sir Walter may have meditated, and even discussed the above order to Keymis, while on his outward passage. It is possible also, that he discussed it only shortly before he gave it, and that the compilers of the Declaration impute the expression to him earlier than they are justified in doing.

XVI. *There are many other circumstances of great weight in the king's Declaration; that Ralegh, when he fell down to Plymouth, took no pioneers with him, which he alway declared to be his intention; that he was nowise provided with instruments for working a mine, but had a sufficient stock of warlike stores; that young Ralegh, in attacking the Spaniards, employed the words which in the narration I have put in his mouth; that the mine was moveable, and shifted as he saw convenient; not to mention many other public facts, which prove him to have been highly criminal against his companions as well as his country. Howell, in his letters, says, that*

*there lived in London, in* 1645, *an officer, a man of honour, who asserted that he heard young Ralegh speak these words*, Vol. II, Letter 63,—*that was a time when there was no interest in maintaining such a fact.*——The greater part of this argument rests upon the truth of the Declaration; which if we admit, we may at once admit the whole of Mr. Hume's narrative. I therefore only observe, that it appears strange, and almost impossible, that of all those who accompanied Sir Walter, and were interested in the success of his adventure, not one should think of providing, or should discover in time that they were unprovided with, the men and instruments necessary for the due execution of their undertaking; or that the knight should so far risk the vengeance of his companions, as to bring them to Guiana without such requisites. At the beginning of chap. IX of this work, the reader may refer to Howell's own words in the letter alluded to by Mr. Hume.

XVII. *Ralegh's account of his first voyage to Guiana, proves him to have been a man capable of the most extravagant credulity, or most impudent imposture. So ridiculous are the stories which he tells of the Inca's chimerical empire in the midst of Guiana; the rich city of El Dorado, or Manoa, two days journey in length, and shining with gold and silver; the old Peruvian prophecies in favour of the English, who, he says, were expressly named as the deliverers of that country, long before any European had ever touched there; the Amazons, or republic of women; and, in general, the vast and incredible riches which he saw on that continent, where nobody as yet found any treasures. This whole narrative is a proof that he was extremely defective, either in solid understanding, or morals, or both. No man's character, indeed, seems ever to have been carried to such extremes as Ralegh's by the opposite passions of envy and pity. In the former part of his life, when he was active, and lived in the world, and was probably best known, he was the object of universal hatred and detestation throughout England; in the latter part, when shut up in prison, he became, much more unreasonably, the object of great love and admiration.*——

By referring to Chap. IV of this work, the reader will find that Sir Walter gives his accounts of the Inca's empire, of the city of El Dorado, *(at what rate* he journied through which, Martines did not say) of the prophecies in favour of the English, and of the Amazons, not on his own testimony, but on that of other writers and reporters; indeed, toward the end of his account of the voyage, he expressly declares, 'because he hath not himself seen the cities of Inga, he cannot avow on his credit what he hath heard.' Coreal, the Spanish traveller before cited, acknowledges the country to be very rich. In the map accompanying his travels, in Sanson's map, and in some of De Lisle's maps, the lake Parima, and the city of Manoa, are marked. That Sir Walter came in for his share of party spleen, which the death of Essex, the favourite of the people, probably greatly increased, we will not deny; but Mr. Hume's unqualified and unsupported assertion, that he was the object of universal hatred and detestation throughout England, proves only under what prejudice he wrote concerning the knight.

After these seventeen arguments, Mr. Hume dwells upon what nobody acquainted with the story disputes, that Sir Walter went to Guiana unpardoned. He is not, however, as we have seen, justified in his insinuation, that this was owing to a suspicion being entertained of the knight's intentions; and had Sir Walter, immediately, upon the failure of his enterprise, expected, as Mr. Hume asserts, the fate he met, would he have surrendered himself in the manner he did?

The intelligence given to the Spaniards of Ralegh's project, Mr. Hume calls a pretence; and asserts, that the public fact of his armament was sufficient to put them on their guard. Is then the knight's confidential letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, written at the time it was written, of no credit; and could the Spaniards have known in what particular place to prepare their force, without the plan of his expedition, exacted from Ralegh, and sent to S$^{t}$. Thome?

Notwithstanding *the suspicion entertained of the knight's intentions*, Mr. Hume blames the king for allowing Sir Walter to depart without a more exact scrutiny. 'Every one of the principals that that were in the voyage (the Declaration informs us) had put in security one for another,' probably without any fraudulent design; but Mr. Hume at once pronounces this *a cheat which increased the suspicion of bad intentions*.

Lastly, the king's motive, we are told, for not pardoning Sir Walter's *treason*, (which Mr. Hume allowed before in Vol. VI, p. 9, of his History, 8vo, 1791, was *no treason*), and trying him for his new offences, was, because an opinion prevailed, that by treaty war was allowed with the Spaniards in the Indies, though peace was made in Europe, and no jury would have found the knight guilty. A confession in fact, that, because Sir Walter could not be lawfully condemned anew, his life was despotically taken from him upon an old and unjust sentence.

This Mr. Hume calls *clearing-up* Sir Walter Ralegh's story, than which, he adds, though very obvious, scarcely any in English history is in general so grossly mistaken; and which, I beg leave, on closing his volume, to observe, either from indolence or design, no one has more grossly misrepresented than himself.

## N°. XXIII.

[Having neglected to notice in its proper place a letter from Sir John Harrington to Dr. John Still, bishop of Bath and Wells, written at the time of Ralegh's trial, I here subjoin the following extract from it, referring the reader to the ingenious Mr. Park's elegant edition of the Nugæ Antiquæ, Vol. I, p. 341.]

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——— 'I much fear for my good Lord Grey and Ralegh. I hear the plot was well nigh accomplished to disturb our peace, and favour Arabella Stuart, the prince's cousin. The Spaniards bear no good will to Ralegh, and I doubt if some of the English have much better affection toward him. God deliver me from these designs!

'I have spoken with Carew[a] concerning the matter. He thinketh ill of certain people whom I know, and wisheth he could gain knowledge and farther inspection hereof, touching those who betrayed this business. Cecil doth bear no love to Ralegh, as you well understand in the matter of Essex. I wist not that he *(Ralegh)* hath evil design in point of faith or religion. As he hath oft discoursed to me with much learning, wisdom, and freedom, I know he doth somewhat differ in opinion from some others, but I think also his heart is well fixed in every honest thing, as far as I can look into him. He seemeth wondrously fitted, both by art and nature, to serve the state; especially as he is versed in foreign matters, his skill therein being alway estimable and praiseworthy. In religion, he hath shewn (in private talk) great depth and good reading,

[a] Sir George Carew, afterward ambassador to the court of France.

as I once experienced at his own house, before many learned men. In good truth, I pity his state, and doubt the dice not fairly thrown, if his life be the losing stake; but hereof enough, as it becometh not a poor country knight, to look from the plough-handle into policy and privacy.'

FINIS.

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